CHANDRA SHEKHAR IN PARLIAMENT

A Commemorative Volume

Lok Sabha
Secretariat
New Delhi

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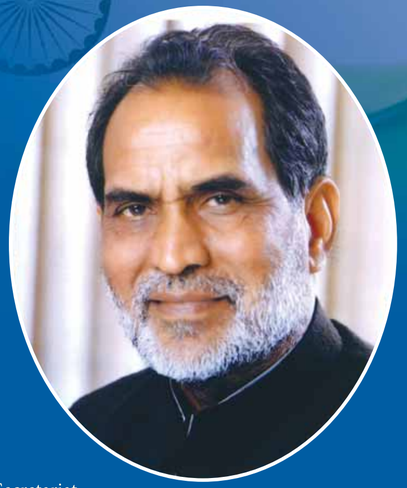

Lok Sabha Secretariat
New Delhi

Chandra Shekhar occupied a very important position in the firmament of Indian politics. His innate political, social skills and calibre could not remain unnoticed to seasoned and prominent leaders of his time under whose guidance and mentorship he got motivated to be a part of the trials and tribulations of the larger political and social life. With socialist leanings and unwavering commitment to the upliftment of the poor, the landless, the workers and the deprived, he significantly impacted the political milieu. His long parliamentary membership is a testimony to enduring popular faith in his leadership. In Parliament through a well-calibrated presentation of views with factual and documentary support he could generate mindful listeners. He evoked unquestionable admiration of one and all through tolerance and accommodation of others' views. He was conferred with the Outstanding Parliamentarian Award and was a benchmark of discipline and decorum in the Legislature. In his political career, Chandra Shekhar made major contributions as Prime Minister of our country.

This publication brings together the ideas and views of Chandra Shekhar as a parliamentarian and as a leader through his select speeches in Parliament as well as through writings and memoirs in his honour by his contemporaries.

Price : ₹ 1200.00

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A COMMEMORATIVE VOLUME

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LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT
NEW DELHI
2016

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सत्यमेव जयते

अध्यक्ष, लोक सभा
SPEAKER, LOK SABHA

FOREWORD

Shri Chandra Shekhar was one of the most popular leaders of independent India whose impact on the political landscape of the country is greatly cherished. He was especially admired for his relentless crusade for social justice, more so for the welfare of the poor and the backward. All through his public life and his long and decades-old parliamentary career, he strove unceasingly to make a meaningful difference to the lives of ordinary citizens.

Shri Chandra Shekhar was attracted to politics and to public service from his student days and soon he became a staunch votary of Socialism. He began his long and illustrious career in politics and public service as the Secretary of the Praja Socialist Party in Ballia District and later on served in the party in various capacities in Uttar Pradesh and at the national level. He was a member of the Congress Party for some years and after leaving the Party, he joined the Janata Party of which he remained the President for a considerable time. What mattered to him most in party politics was the values and principles which he believed in from the core of his heart.

The distinguished legislative career of Shri Chandra Shekhar, which spanned over four decades, began in 1962 when he was elected to the Rajya Sabha from Uttar Pradesh for the first time. He was re-elected to the Rajya Sabha for two more terms, in 1968 and 1974. Later, he was elected to the Sixth, Seventh, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Lok Sabhas. His long and illustrious association with Parliament, particularly the fact that he was elected eight times to the Lok Sabha, bears ample testimony to his extremely close rapport with the populace.

Shri Chandra Shekhar encompassed in his personality the vision of a statesman, the humanism of a popular leader and the zeal of a social reformer. His humane qualities and compassion set him apart and, as a

true democrat, he remained open to others' points of view, even when they differed with him. He never hesitated to rebel when his ideas clashed with that of his party colleagues; at the same time, his down-to-earth and realistic approach endeared him to the people at large.

Shri Chandra Shekhar was undoubtedly a man of the masses who connected himself well with the poorest of the poor and unfailingly espoused their cause. He firmly believed that no matter how good a system may be, until social justice is ensured and poverty abolished, nothing concrete could be achieved for the betterment of the weak and the depressed. He was in the vanguard of change for social reconstruction and uplift of the vulnerable sections of society. The entire nation recalls even today the *padyatra* which he undertook from Kanyakumari to Rajghat in Delhi to gain a deeper understanding of the travails of the people and to establish a close rapport with them. Subsequently, he set up *Bharat Yatra* Centres in various States to train social and political workers for mass education and grassroot work. His profound concern for the welfare of women and children and for preserving the environment and ecology has been widely acclaimed.

Shri Chandra Shekhar was a unique national leader who became the Prime Minister of India without having held any Ministerial position earlier in his career. This, in itself, was proof of the fact that what mattered most to him was to work for the people at the grassroots and not to hanker after positions. His all consuming commitment to egalitarianism and equity came out eloquently when, on assuming the Prime Ministership, he told the people, "If there is an ocean of misery around, you cannot protect islands of affluence". Though his term as the Prime Minister of the country was too short, he earned approbation of the nation as an efficient administrator who was rooted to the ground.

Shri Chandra Shekhar was a forceful, fluent and persuasive speaker in Parliament and outside. His compelling expositions on a wide range of issues greatly enriched the proceedings of Parliament. He had an innate respect for decorum and dignity of the democratic institutions. When the Thirteenth Lok Sabha took the initiative to set up an Ethics Committee on 16 May 2000, Shri Chandra Shekhar was made its first Chairperson, a position he held in the Fourteenth Lok Sabha as well. Keeping in view his exemplary parliamentary performance and acknowledging his contributions to strengthening parliamentary democracy, he was conferred the Indian Parliamentary Group's Outstanding Parliamentarian Award in 1995.

Shri Chandra Shekhar continues to evoke admiration as an unflinching socialist, an able administrator and an outstanding parliamentarian whose life and ideas will offer inspiration to generations.

This commemorative volume brought out by the Lok Sabha Secretariat brings together different facets of Shri Chandra Shekhar's life as a national leader par excellence and his ennobling ideals and views on various subjects and issues. It also carries his select speeches in Parliament which are truly reflective of his deep insight into the socio-political-economic realities and challenges before the country, besides erudite articles by several of his contemporaries and admirers. I congratulate Shri Anoop Mishra, Secretary-General, Lok Sabha, and his team of officers of the Lok Sabha Secretariat for bringing out this volume. I am sure the publication will be found very useful by parliamentarians, researchers and all other interested readers.

New Delhi
July, 2016

SUMITRA MAHAJAN
Speaker, Lok Sabha

सत्यमेव जयते

SECRETARY-GENERAL,
LOK SABHA

PREFACE

Chandra Shekhar was a quintessential politician who occupied a very significant position in India's polity and Parliament for a fairly long time. As a Parliamentarian, his passion, his conviction and faith in democratic norms and values made him one of the revered parliamentarians. A born leader with a multifaceted personality, he was well-known for his forceful oratorical skills and deep seated knowledge and in-depth understanding of the problems facing the country. He had always focused on national and international issues during debates in conformity with parliamentary conventions. On some occasions, his insightful parliamentary interventions with a poetic touch and his crisp, lucid and well thought-out political argumentation made him rise above the dust and din in the Parliament. In recognition of his exemplary performance, he was honoured and bestowed with the prestigious Indian Parliamentary Group's *Outstanding Parliamentarian Award* in 1995.

As the eighth Prime Minister of India, he had his share of strengths and achievements. Although he did not occupy the exalted position of the Prime Minister of the country for a long time, his tenure was nevertheless significant by any reckoning. He had displayed extraordinary abilities and statesmanship in handling challenges before the country at a very critical time of India's economy. In recalling his eventful innings as the Prime Minister, one is reminded of what the Seventeenth Century English poet Ben Jonson wrote:

"In small proportions we just beauties see;
And in short measures, life may perfect be."

This publication is a humble tribute to Chandra Shekhar who has the distinction of serving both the Houses of Parliament and for his substantial contributions in enriching the proceedings of Parliament. A leader with great conviction, courage and concern for the development and upliftment

of the disadvantaged people is laudable to pay homage through this modest publication.

We express our sincere gratitude to Smt. Sumitra Mahajan, Hon'ble Speaker of Lok Sabha, for her initiative, guidance, direction and constant encouragement in bringing out this publication. I profoundly thank her for writing an inspiring and illuminating Foreword to this commemorative volume. We are deeply grateful to the Hon'ble President of India, Shri Pranab Mukherjee and Hon'ble Vice-President of India, Dr. M. Hamid Ansari for undoubtedly enriching the value of this commemorative volume by acceding to our request to send messages for this publication. We are equally beholden to Hon'ble Prime Minister of India, Shri Narendra Modi for message to the volume.

The publication comprises four parts: Part I of the publication attempts to provide a profile of Chandra Shekhar. It gives synoptic view of the evolution of the personality of Chandra Shekhar and the various influences on him. It also tries to recapitulate his role as Prime Minister of the country. The publication also attempts to highlight his role as a popular leader and public figure, thereby giving an account of him as a veteran member of parliament and his views on various aspects of the country's life.

Part II of the publication contains articles on Chandra Shekhar penned by his contemporaries and close associates. Honoured contributors include former Speaker of Lok Sabha, former Chief Ministers and Union Ministers, both present and former members of Parliament, academicians and journalists. I am grateful to each one of them for having responded to our request and enriching our publication with their contributions. We are also thankful to Shri Neeraj Shekhar, son of Chandra Shekhar and Member of Parliament himself for extending his unstinted cooperation to us and also for his valuable inputs and informative article and some photographs in this publication. We would, however, like to emphasize that the views expressed in various articles are those of the individual authors and the Lok Sabha Secretariat does not assume any responsibility for the opinions expressed by the authors or the facts cited by them.

Part III of the publication gives select speeches of Chandra Shekhar on the floor of the two Houses of Parliament. The speeches in this section will help in providing a glimpse of his views on various subjects including his deep concern for the poor and marginalized sections of our society. Some of his speeches originally made in Hindi have been translated into English for this English edition of the publication. The speeches have been arranged subject-wise.

Part IV of the publication contains rich tributes paid to him by both the Houses of Parliament and by the State Legislatures on his passing away on 8 July 2007. This publication contains photographs of Chandra Shekhar showing different facets of his life as a Parliamentarian, as Prime Minister, as social and political worker. We are thankful to the Photo Library of the Press Information Bureau, the Photo Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and the Parliamentary Museum and Archives of the Lok Sabha Secretariat for providing good quality photographs of Chandra Shekhar for this publication.

The Editorial and Translation service of the Lok Sabha Secretariat did the important job of translating some of the important speeches of Chandra Shekhar delivered in Hindi in the Parliament into English as well as translating some Articles and Tributes received in Hindi into English. We thank Smt. Sarita Nagpal, Director, and her team for their support in this regard.

The publication is a result of the hard work put in by officers and staff of the Lok Sabha Secretariat. I am thankful to Dr. D. Bhalla, Secretary, Lok Sabha, who deserves the credit for his enthusiasm in the fruition of the volume. I also thank Shri K. Vijaykrishnan, Additional Secretary, Shri Abhijit Kumar and Smt. Kalpana Sharma, Joint Secretaries, Dr. D. K. Singh and Smt. Alpana Tripathi, Directors, Shri Pradosh Panda, Smt. Nalinakshi Trikha and Shri Prasanta K. Mallick, Additional Directors and Smt. Urmila Sharma, Joint Director, Shri Asakho Chachei, Research Officer, Smt. Nisha, Research Assistant and Shri A. Surbanta Meitei, Junior Library Assistant for their dedicated and hard work in realizing this project.

Thanks are also due to Shri S.S. Kukreja, Director and his team of officials in the Printing and Publications Service of Lok Sabha Secretariat and Messrs. Jainco Art India, the printer for the excellent job they have done in short span of time.

We hope the commemorative volume on Chandra Shekhar will be welcomed by parliamentarians, State legislatures, academics, researchers, media and all others interested in the study of parliamentary institutions and their leaders.

New Delhi
July, 2016

ANOOP MISHRA
Secretary-General
Lok Sabha

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सत्यमेव जयते

राष्ट्रपति
भारत गणतंत्र
PRESIDENT
REPUBLIC OF INDIA

MESSAGE

I am happy to learn that the Lok Sabha Secretariat is bringing out a Monograph on the former Prime Minister of India, Late Shri Chandra Shekhar.

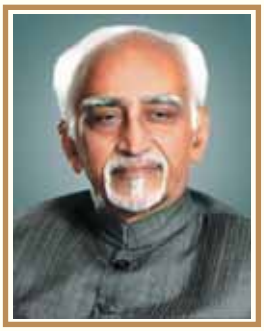
Shri Chandra Shekhar had a long parliamentary career and immensely contributed towards upholding the parliamentary traditions of the country. He worked to make the Parliament a genuine voice of the people by focusing on the problems of the common man.

As Member of Parliament, Shri Chandra Shekhar's cogent, thoughtful and convincing arguments were appreciated by members cutting across party lines. In his Parliamentary activities, Shri Chandra Shekhar always conducted himself within the rules and procedures of Parliament. His excellence in parliamentary practice and respect for opinions and views of others earned him the 'Outstanding Parliamentarian Award' in 1995. Shri Chandra Shekhar pursued the cause of welfare of the masses with zeal, commitment and dedication. For his conviction and courage in the fight against vested interests, he was known as a 'Young Turk'. Shri Chandra Shekhar will always be remembered for his simplicity, honesty and courage of conviction.

On this occasion, I pay my tribute to late Shri Chandra Shekhar and wish the Monograph "Chandra Shekhar in Parliament" all success.

PRANAB MUKHERJEE

New Delhi
4 August 2015



सत्यमेव जयते

भारत के उप-राष्ट्रपति
VICE-PRESIDENT OF INDIA

MESSAGE

I am happy to learn that the Lok Sabha Secretariat is bringing out a Monograph titled "Chandra Shekhar in Parliament" on Late Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India.

Shri Chandra Shekhar was an eminent Parliamentarian having been elected to the Lok Sabha for eight terms and to the Rajya Sabha for three terms. In Parliament, he was an ardent advocate for social change and espoused the cause of the downtrodden. As a "Young Turk", he was a source of inspiration through his conviction, courage and integrity in fighting vested interests in all spheres.

I am confident that this monograph would enlighten the public about the valuable contributions made by Late Shri Chandra Shekhar to the nation.

My best wishes.

M. HAMID ANSARI

New Delhi
15 July 2015

सत्यमेव जयते

प्रधान मंत्री
PRIME MINISTER
OF INDIA

MESSAGE

I am glad to know that a commemorative volume on Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India is being brought out by the Lok Sabha Secretariat as a mark of respect of his manifold contributions to the nation.

Born to a humble farmer's family, Chandra Shekhar occupied the exalted office of Prime Minister and left an imprint of his statesmanship to the august office. Being an activist from his student days, he had vociferously voiced the concerns of the countrymen in various fora. His erudition and eloquence reverberated the Chambers of Parliament for over three decades. An avid reader and evocative writer, Chandra Shekar's oratorical brilliance reflects his deep understanding of grassroot issues. A strict disciplinarian, Chandra Shekhar scrupulously adhered to the discipline and decorum of the House and had set a benchmark for others for which he was deservingly honoured with Outstanding Parliamentarian Award.

I compliment the Lok Sabha Secretariat for bringing out a publication on Shri Chandra Shekhar which is a tribute to his diverse contributions. I am sure this will be appreciated by a cross section of society.

NARENDRA MODI

New Delhi
18 July 2015

Part I
PROFILE

Chandra Shekhar

CHANDRA SHEKHAR: A PROFILE

Chandra Shekhar was one of the eminent and popular political leaders of India. The interest of the poor, the peasants, the landless, the working classes and their development always remained core to his heart. He was influenced by certain socialist leaders and ideas of socialism too. Having developed political interests since student days, he came into active politics under the advice and influence of his socialist mentor Acharya Narendra Deva. He began his Parliamentary career from Rajya Sabha where he remained a member for three terms. Afterwards he got elected to Lok Sabha where he remained a member for eight terms. Having an abiding faith in the rules and procedure of Parliament and respect for the decorum and discipline in the House, he earned the honour of an Outstanding Parliamentarian. His amiable disposition, command over various subjects and practical approach to national and international issues was appreciated from the different quarters in Parliament.

With a long political record to his credit, he became the Prime Minister of India in 1990. As Prime Minister and a towering leader of the country, he left his mark as a statesman in various spheres of the country, though he remained in the same office for a short period. Chandra Shekhar articulated his ideas on diverse fields in Parliament through various devices of Parliamentary practice and procedures as well as through his own writings.

Early Life and Education

Chandra Shekhar was born on 1 July 1927 in the village of Ibrahimpatti in Ballia district in eastern Uttar Pradesh. His father Sadanand Singh was a farmer. His mother was Smt. Draupadi Devi. His family inculcated in him a deep sense of hard work and commitment to study. He passed matriculation from Jeevan Ram High School in Azamgarh in 1945. After matriculation, he pursued his academic endeavour in Satish Chandra Degree College, Ballia and passed BA in 1949. While he was still studying, he married Dwija Devi on 10 June 1944. Later he joined the Allahabad University and completed Masters Degree in Political Science in 1951.

Foray into Politics

Chandra Shekhar was attracted to politics right from his student days and was known as a firebrand leader with revolutionary fervor. Starting from fearlessly advocating for autonomy of student Union, his opposition

to increase in fees in the Allahabad University made him popular among the youth. He was well-aware of the problems of the peasants, the landless labourers, the marginalized and the downtrodden sections and above all complexities of the rural life and economy.

By the time Chandra Shekhar was out of college *i.e.* 1949, he had gained much interest in politics. His mentor, Acharya Narendra Deva advised him to join active politics which he readily agreed. He had enrolled for Ph.D. under Prof. Mukut Behari Lal at Banaras Hindu University but stopped pursuing his academic ambition. He joined the socialist movement and was elected as the secretary of the District Praja Socialist Party (PSP) in Ballia in 1951. Later till 1962 he held various positions in the PSP in the State *i.e.* Uttar Pradesh and at the national level.

Chandra Shekhar began his Parliamentary career after getting elected to Rajya Sabha from Uttar Pradesh on a PSP ticket in 1962. Since then, he was a Member of Parliament, except for the period from 1984 to 1989. He joined Indian National Congress in 1964. In 1967, he was appointed as the General Secretary of the Congress Party in Parliament. He started a weekly titled *Young Indian* in 1969 from New Delhi to communicate with the masses and to air his views on socio-political issues.

Emergency and Arrest

Developments during 1975 Emergency in the country resulted in Chandra Shekhar's parting ways with the Congress leadership. During Emergency, under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act, 1975 Chandra Shekhar and many other leaders were arrested. Initially he was lodged in Rohtak jail and then shifted to Chandigarh jail. He was later shifted to Patiala jail. During his incarceration, he penned his popular *Jail Diary*. On his arrest and imprisonment, he wrote:

> "This gave me peace of mind. It was not possible for me to agree with all that was happening around me. How could one claim that the country's future rested on one single individual? So much of sycophancy and such slavishness are beyond me."

During his stay in the prison, he read a number of books ranging from literature to politics, religion, development etc. After release from the prison he was shifted to New Delhi on 30 December 1976 and was placed under house arrest. Subsequently in 1977 Chandra Shekhar joined the Janata Party and became the President of the party. The same year, he was elected to the 6th Lok Sabha. Thereafter, he was continuously re-elected as the Party President and retained the position until 1988.

His Bharat Yatra

As President of the Janata Party, he undertook a marathon walk (*Padyatra*, later known as *Bharat Yatra*) from Kanyakumari, Tamil Nadu to Rajghat in New Delhi, covering a total distance of 4260 kilometers from January 6, 1983 to June 25, 1983. The objective of undertaking such an arduous task, *i.e. the Bharat Yatra*, was to highlight the problems of the rural areas and eliminate the prevalent social inequalities and disparities. This exercise made him popular amongst the masses. During this journey, Chandra Shekhar established around 15 *Bharat Yatra* centers in various parts of India including Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, and Haryana.

On the momentous *Bharat Yatra*, Chandra Shekhar observed:

> "For nearly six months till we reached Delhi on 25 June 1983, it was a continuous procession. It was the spontaneous response of the people which made the *Yatra* a unique success. For the first time, people realized that there were some who were ready to come to their houses to understand their problems. When we started, it was doubtful whether people would react positively to *Bharat Yatra* or would take it as a political drama. But all through the *Yatra,* the villagers who were illiterate, who were ignorant, who were helpless, lined up in large numbers to receive the volunteers who were walking. In almost all the villages, even the poor people managed to offer the best welcome that they could afford. There might have been difficulty of language, but the language of the heart, which was more powerful, helped to communicate the feelings. We ourselves understood that the people are willing to cooperate if we go to them. In this respect, it was Mahatma Gandhi who put his finger on the pulse of the people. It was an adventure in self, it was an adventure of self education".[1]

During his long and arduous *Bharat Yatra*, Chandra Shekhar came face to face with the stark reality of rural India. The plight of children of rural India made a deep impact on him. Expressing his concern, Chandra Shekhar said:

> "Children everywhere in India are suffering due to malnutrition. They do not get education. They do not even get a chance of survival. Every child that is born has the right to survive. We must give him clean drinking water, necessary nutrition to develop a healthy physique. And in today's modern world he should get the elementary education and primary health services. On these scores there cannot be any

[1] Chandra Shekhar: *The Man of Destiny:* Hira Lal Chaubey (1991) pp. 133-134

compromise. Out-moded traditions and out-dated ideas in religion and caste have been used to discriminate against the people. For centuries together, the Scheduled Caste, the Scheduled Tribe and Backward Class people have been feeling neglected. Violence is a strain on the fabric of democratic society. For this discrimination to go, we must change the whole social structure in order to serve their urges and aspirations. In spite of the attempts to bring our women-fold out of the *purdah* system, they are not getting their rightful place in the society. They still feel insecure. Our Constitution promised to eradicate illiteracy within 15 years after it came into force. But even today more than 60 per cent of our people are illiterate".[2]

Throughout his *Yatra,* Chandra Shekhar recalled that it did not matter where the villager lived, in Uttar Pradesh or Kerala, Rajasthan or Assam, his problems were the same and were equally ignored. Chandra Shekhar realized that despite all the talks of regionalism, the fabric of unity was strong. People were the same everywhere. The *Yatra* ended in New Delhi on 25 June 1983. At the end of the *Bharat Yatra,* Chandra Shekhar, decided to concentrate on five points which were of immediate relevance to the men and women living in the villages. Satisfying these basic needs would mean making Swaraj relevant not in the abstract sense of mere political independence but as a means of transforming their day-to-day life and in bringing about unity of hearts.

These five points were:—

1. Drinking water for every village;
2. Health facilities and steps to prevent malnutrition among children and expectant mothers;
3. Education for all;
4. Problems of Adivasis and Harijans; and
5. Communal harmony.

Explaining the importance of *Bharat Yatra* Centres, Chandra Shekhar said:—

"We have just made a beginning and this beginning may not be very romantic. It does not catch the eye of the media. But it surely catches the eye of the people in the villages. This is an endeavour which requires lot of patience and endurance. No immediate result can be seen. But in the long run this is the only way to get the willing co-operation of our people and try to create a powerful movement for a new social order".[3]

[2] Chaubey *op. cit.* pp. 134-35
[3] Chaubey *op. cit.* p. 138

As a Parliamentarian

Chandra Shekhar was a member of Rajya Sabha for three terms from 1962 to 1977 after which he got elected as a member of Sixth Lok Sabha for the first time in 1977. After this he remained a member of the Seventh Lok Sabha and afterwards from Ninth to the Fourteenth Lok Sabha. As a Member of Parliament, Chandra Shekhar unfailingly espoused the cause of the downtrodden and pleaded for policies for rapid social change. National issues remained uppermost in his mind and he always drew attention to it.

As a Parliamentarian, Chandra Shekhar was firm in his approach to corruption. During his term in Rajya Sabha he had sent a memorandum to the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister drawing their attention to the irregularities like evasion of Central Excise duties, false declaration about controlled varieties of cloth, false statements about the dimensions of cloth and its price by the Technological Institute of Textile in Bhiwani. He pointed out the irregularities in the dealings of Asbestos Cement Products, Orient Paper Mills and Century Chemicals. He also drew attention about malpractices in Hindustan Motors. He pointed out that though aluminium had been reserved for the public sector, some private companies had been allowed to put up plant with supply of electric power by the government at cost price. Chandra Shekhar also referred to the malpractice of under invoicing and over-invoicing by some Indian companies in foreign countries, which resulted in building secret reserves of foreign exchange by them. These revelations created a storm in Parliament and, in fact, all over the country. He asserted that, industrial empires founded on systematic tax evasions and public cheating have no right, much less justification, to exist and called for a Commission of Inquiry.

Taking into account his remarkable contributions as a parliamentarian Chandra Shekhar was conferred with the Outstanding Parliamentarian Award by the then president Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma in a function in Central Hall of Parliament on 12 December 1995.

His Views of Economic Development

Chandra Shekhar was an ardent believer in socialism. He openly gave vent to his belief in this regard when during discussion in Rajya Sabha on 23 August 1968 regarding entry of Soviet forces into Czechoslovakia, he said:

> "I was born in the Gandhi-Nehru era of our motherland with glorious traditions of high ideals of compassion, tolerance, peace and love and also adhere to the socialist principles enunciated by great thinkers like

> Karl Marx, Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg. When I speak today I am reminded of those great people who have given an impetus to me to come to politics and do social service."[4]

As a socialist, Chandra Shekhar was concerned about the rapid growth of monopolies, accumulation of wealth by large industrial houses, the growth of black money, the spread of corruption, squandering of funds by financial institutions, concealment of income and other economic offences. He had no hesitation in raising these questions no matter who was involved. He demanded a thorough probe. He made charges only when he had all the proof. He was also for Nationalisation of Banks. Participating in the debate on the issue, he said, "This country belongs not to a few privileged persons but it belongs to everyone living in the country".[4]

Chandra Shekhar also advocated for the nationalisation of Sugar Mills, Tea Gardens, Textile Mills and the Jute Industry. But by this he never supported bureaucratization in the public undertakings. He firmly believed that the welfare of the masses lies in the success of PSUs in the country. He was pained at the mismanagement of the PSUs and continued to protest against any criticism of PSUs and their role in nation building. In Parliament, he always stood for efficient administration of the Public Sector Undertakings so that every paisa was well spent. Stressing on the importance of PSUs, he said:

> "There cannot be any industrial policy in India that does not spell out the role of public sector in the country's planned development. It has become a fashion to denigrate public sector without understanding its crucial role in planned development. It is true that Indian public sector enterprises suffer from a variety of problems. There is a need to approach the public sector with the intention of improving its performance and to strengthen this vital sector rather than attempting to reduce its area of operation by preaching privatization and inviting multinationals. It has serious economic implications."[5]

Chandra Shekhar was not against Private Sectors, but was very critical of concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. Chandra Shekhar observed that all countries of the world which accepted economic liberalization and opened the door to multi-national companies were soon caught in the debt trap, their political system became unstable, ended up as military dictatorships or lost their identity. India therefore, he said, had to evolve its own policy. Multinationals and large Private Corporations would only make the foreign exchange problem more serious.

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[4] Nationalisation of Banks, Rajya Sabha Debate on 20 December 1963.
[5] Chaubey *op. cit*. p. 126.

Chandra Shekhar also pointed out that industries in the private sector gave the owners quick profits and they indulged in various malpractices to earn profit. They got the raw material from public sector undertakings and raised a hue and cry when prices of raw material were raised but they had no hesitation in raising at the slightest pretext, the price of the consumer goods that they manufactured. The Pricing Committee he felt functioned in the interests of the industrialists and was their biggest protagonist. He observed that there was no machinery to enquire into the wastage, inefficiency and high handedness of the private sector. Nor was there any machinery to go into the tactics that the private sector adopted to raise the price of its goods.

As a grassroot leader, Chandra Shekhar had exposure to issues like, illiteracy and ignorance, poverty, malnutrition and widening of the gap between rich and poor in Indian society. He aptly said:—

> "Indian society has unique features. It is a democracy with nearly half of the population living below or on the margin of what has come to be known as the 'poverty line'. Nearly two-thirds of the Indians are illiterate. More than a quarter of the Indian population comprises of landless labour; sixty per cent of the Indians are included under scheduled, tribal and backward classes. The gap between urban and rural living standards has been widening. The average per capita income of the agriculture sector has been witnessing a decline. The number of unemployed is estimated at thirty two million and this stagnant pool of human resources is not only widening but is threatening to pose a challenge to the social and political integrity of the country."

Chandra Shekhar was very critical of the economic policies espoused by the then government. He stressed that the economic policies of the nation should be framed keeping in mind the social realities of India. Participating in the motion regarding Mid-term Appraisal of the 4th Five Year Plan in Rajya Sabha on 12 April 1972, he said:—

> "……all the laudable ideals are there, all the good intentions are there and good sentiments have been expressed. But in spite of these sentiments we have not achieved our goal. We can think that we banish poverty without eliminating monopoly and concentration of economic power. It is a ridiculous proposition because abolition of poverty means reconstruction of the whole society."

As Prime Minister

Chandra Shekhar was sworn in as the Prime Minister of India on 10 November 1990 with support from various political parties including Indian National Congress after the relinquishing of office by Vishwanath Pratap Singh. He held portfolios such as Home Affairs; Atomic

Energy; Science and Technology; Ocean Development; Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions; Electronics; Space; Information and Broadcasting; Industry; Labour; Welfare; Planning and Programme Implementation; External Affairs; Health and Family Welfare; Water Resources and Surface Transport.

With the withdrawal of support by the Congress Party on March 6, 1991, the Janta Dal (Socialist) led by Chandra Shekhar was reduced to minority. He did not believe in manipulations and compromise with political parties for the sake of power. He tendered his resignation in a nationally televised address. But he was asked by the President to continue till the completion of the general elections to the tenth Lok Sabha and formation of subsequent government. He relinquished the office of PM on 21 June 1991 when P.V. Narasimha Rao was sworn in as the Prime Minister of the country. Subsequently, however, he was elected to the Tenth Lok Sabha from the Ballia constituency in Uttar Pradesh in 1991.

His Views on Foreign Policy

After assuming the office of Prime Minister, Chandra Shekhar attended the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) summit on 21 November 1990 held in Maldives' capital Male. He urged for peace in the subcontinent. Chandra Shekhar told leaders attending the fifth summit of the SAARC that member countries should shed off exchange of pleasantries and discuss the problems that were agitating the minds of the people of the region. Listing the innumerable difficulties being faced by SAARC countries including trade deficits, rising external debts and its servicing, Chandra Shekhar emphasized that cooperation among countries of the region should be forged in a manner that serves the best interests of all countries involved.

As a step to ameliorate the economic difficulties of the region, he suggested setting up a fund for regional projects to provide credit on easy terms and even for investment to start small scale projects. To realize this he urged that the senior representatives of national development banks of the countries could get together and consider making institutional funding available. Chandra Shekhar was critical of the annexation of Tibet by China and voiced his protest against this. He was of the view that such annexation poses a serious threat to India. Chandra Shekhar had keen interest in the political development of Nepal. He had always favoured a democratic establishment in Nepal for which on many occasions, he negotiated with King Mahendra for giving appropriate space to Nepali Congress leaders.

His Scientific Temper

Chandra Shekhar laid great emphasis on science and technology and believed that through the optimum use of science and technology, the

myriad problems of the countrymen can be successfully dealt with. In this context, in a reply to the Media persons about the priority of his government, Chandra Shekhar unambiguously stated:—

> "In my priority list, science comes first because the future of the country depends on it… If you encourage one young lady scientist, you are giving a scientific temper to the women of this country. Our future depends on the women of India."[6]

He had further elaborated his views on the promotion of the scientific temper when he said:—

> "We cannot make progress in the world if we do not have a scientific attitude. Unfortunately, because of our traditions, if I may be allowed to say, obsolete traditions, blind faith, decadent culture, many things are bogged down. Our scientific temper could not grow sufficiently because of certain drawbacks in our social system. When I talk of social system, I am not only referring to the old system based on caste and religion, but I talk of distorted economic development and social approach that we have taken during last four decades after the Independence."[7]

Literary Interest

Besides being a popular political figure Chandra Shekhar also had literary interests. He founded and edited the *Young Indian*, a weekly from Delhi. During Emergency it was discontinued for some time and resumed later. During his days of imprisonment in emergency he had penned down his thoughts which was published as *Meri Jail Diary* (in Hindi). Besides this he had a well-known compilation of writings called 'Dynamics of Social Change' to his credit.

His Last Journey

Chandra Shekhar passed away in New Delhi on 8 July 2007 at the age of 80 after a protracted battle with cancer. As a mass and popular leader, he shared his political career with many generations and has left an imprint of his thoughts and concerns for the cause of the countrymen. Leaders, media, general public and the entire nation expressed grief over the passing away of Chandra Shekhar. His cremation was attended by the President, Prime Minister, Cabinet Ministers and leaders of various parties and thousands of his beloved followers.

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[6] *Chandra Shekhar: A Political Biography:* Yogendra Bali (1991) p. 200.

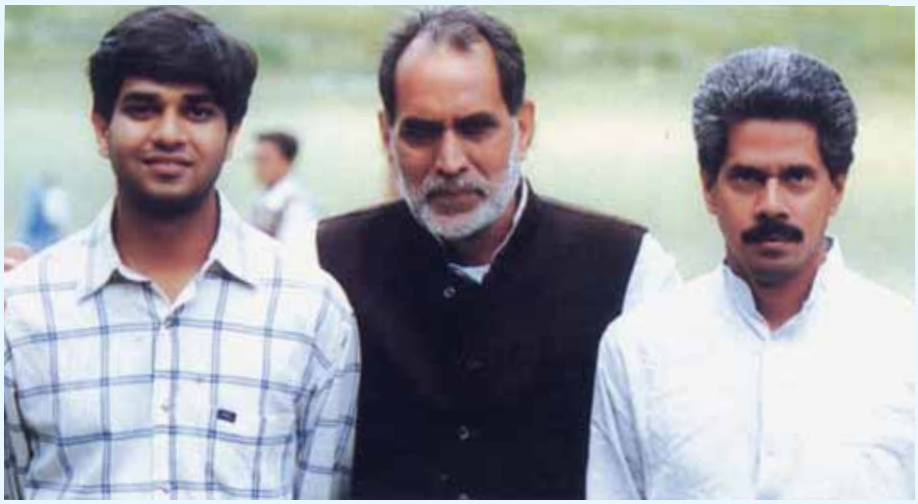
[7] Inaugural Address at the 78th Indian Science Congress, Indore, 3 January 1991.

Rich tributes were paid to the departed soul in Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha and State legislative assemblies. President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam described "Chandra Shekhar as a veteran Parliamentarian, a secularist and a socialist known for his conviction to the principles he believed in. His services to the nation would be remembered", he said. Vice-President Bhairon Singh Shekhawat said, "the country had lost a 'messiah of the poor' and embodiment of secularism and a fearless sentinel of democratic values and traditions". The Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh said, "Chandra Shekhar during his brief tenure as Prime Minister, steered the nation and the economy through stormy waters with statesmanship and wisdom". The former Prime Minister and senior BJP leader, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee said, "with the passing away of 'the Young Turk', an era of struggle in Indian politics had ended and a vacuum created in public life".

The Union Cabinet in a condolence Resolution described Chandra Shekhar as an eminent Parliamentarian, social worker and an able administrator, who left his imprint on every aspect of national life. Chandra Shekhar was truly a secular nationalist and a man of the people committed to their welfare and well-being. He was known for his conviction, courage and integrity. Throughout his life, he devoted himself to espouse the cause of the downtrodden and worked relentlessly for rapid social change. In the passing away of Chandra Shekhar, the nation has lost 'an eminent son, a wise national leader and a statesman'.

As Student in Allahabad University, 1950

With his wife Smt. Dwija Devi on their 50th Wedding Anniversary



With his sons Neeraj and Pankaj

With his brothers [Standing from Left] Kripa Shankar Singh and Badri Narayan Singh and sister Shakuntala Singh

With the family. Standing: Pankaj, Neeraj, Vinita, Ashim, Rachna, Praveen and Naveen. Sitting: Kumud, Nutan, Srishti, Anshuman, Rashmi, Shashank, Kiran and Gita

With his son Shri Neeraj Shekhar

PART II
ARTICLES

CHANDRA SHEKHAR—MY FATHER

*—Neeraj Shekhar**

The earliest memoirs of my father late Shri Chandra Shekhar go back to the year 1973-74, when I was about 6 years old. *Pitaji*, as my elder brother, Shri Pankaj and I used to call him fondly, being a member of the Congress Working Committee and its Election Committee, he was already a prominent member of the Congress hierarchy. In those days, our residence in New Delhi, 3 South Avenue Lane, used to be full of Congress leaders and workers seeking his support.

I often overheard heated discussions about the JP Movement which was raging in Bihar and other States. I do not remember the exact date; one evening Shri Jayaprakash Narayan visited our residence. Our drawing room adjoining the verandah and the space outside it was filled with many Congress MPs and friends of *Pitaji*. Those days JP was a *persona non-grata* in the ruling circles. Naturally, it raised a fierce controversy and some of the Congress MPs who attended the meeting, tried to explain away their presence in the meeting with lame excuses just to avoid the wrath of Smt. Indira Gandhi. But *Pitaji* was unperturbed.

I had joined Sardar Patel School in Delhi, a few months after the Emergency. My classmates were eager to cultivate intimacy with me before the Emergency, because they thought that I was the son of an important leader who was always in the news for one reason or the other. My cousins and I shone in the reflected glory of *Pitaji*. But soon I was to experience the greatest shock of my childhood. It was the early hours of 26th June 1975. We were awakened by unusual voices. *Pitaji* had come to collect his clothes and a few books under police custody. Very soon, he was whisked away in a police car to an unknown destination.

It was my first encounter with political uncertainty. After the arrest of *Pitaji,* everything changed so swiftly that as a child I could hardly comprehend the developing situation. All of a sudden, the usual crowd of political leaders disappeared from our residence. There was a hush-hush atmosphere all around. The reign of terror was perceptible everywhere. Emergency was in full swing. When after a few months, we got an opportunity to meet *Pitaji* in Patiala jail he looked cheerful and even cut jokes with us. He impressed upon us that it was a passing phase and we should not lose heart.

* He is son of Chandra Shekhar and at present a Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha).

During those trying days, my mother Smt. Dwija Devi, who was a simple village lady, used to narrate the stories of those hard days when *Pitaji* worked as a whole time party worker in the socialist movement. *Pitaji* had to spend days even without a proper meal. He was self-respecting to the core. He neither complained nor invited anybody's pity. She consoled us by telling about his earlier incarcerations. She used to express confidence that Smt. Indira Gandhi's reign of terror would end very soon and *Pitaji* would come out of jail as a hero. When I grew up and read *Pitaji's Meri Jail Diary,* I learnt that the same sentiments were expressed by him in it.

Nineteen months of Emergency passed like a nightmare. Before his release, he was brought and lodged in a bungalow at Rouse Avenue. We learnt that emissaries from Smt. Indira Gandhi visited him there and tried to convince him to contest the Lok Sabha elections on Indira Congress ticket. The persons who came up with such proposals were his old friends. But he refused to oblige them.

After the release of *Pitaji* from jail in January 1977 and announcement of the Lok Sabha elections, once again, our residence became a beehive of political activity. Sometime, I would hear loud discussions. Many leaders of the new formation were sceptical about his projections for the ensuing Lok Sabha elections. But *Pitaji* was confident that the newly formed Janata Party under the leadership of Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan was sure to get a majority.

Years later, I could fathom his qualities of head and heart; he abhorred humiliation of a fallen opponent. He was magnanimous and humble in victory. Though Smt. Indira Gandhi had put him behind the bars, he never nursed any personal ill-will against her. He was opposed to her arrest by the Janata Government. He was secular to the core but he disliked its pretensions. His circle of friends included many prominent leaders of Bharatiya Janata Party, Congress and many other political parties. In personal relations, he was magnanimous to a fault. I know a number of leaders who had parted his company for greener pastures but continued to receive his blessings in more ways than one. Many a time, I found his own party colleagues protesting against bestowing of favours to such leaders. But he always ignored it. His ability to forgive and forget was the sole reason that in spite of the differences, many senior political leaders regarded him highly and looked forward to his views on various critical issues facing the country.

I cannot help mention in this regard the revival of the *Young Indian** through which he maintained communication not only with the grassroot level workers of his party but also expressed his opinion on contemporary national and international issues. His views and assessment of the situation

* A weekly published from Delhi.

were expressed without fear or favour. There were no attempts to gain political mileage. His views bore the stamp of his deep understanding of people's psyche. He was a *political scientist* both in training and practice. His theoretical knowledge, association with stalwarts of the times and identification with the common people of the country were his greatest assets. While trying to project people's aspirations, he was not afraid to become 'unpopular' when speaking against divisive forces and practices. He was not known to mince his words. His free, frank and straight-from-the-heart (pronouncements) might have displeased some but in the end everyone knew that he had no malice towards anyone. No wonder his editorials in the *Young Indian* were eagerly awaited even by the most senior political leaders of the country. Equally attentive were his colleagues in the Parliament, admirers as well as detractors, whenever he spoke. No doubt, he was a worthy recipient of the *Outstanding Parliamentarian Award*. As his colleague of many years, Late Shri Krishan Kant had put, "He is a visible confirmation that relevance in politics is not a function of the position one holds, but of how close one remains to one's credo, in thought and in action". In his own characteristic way, he warned divisive forces that he belonged to the land of *Bhrigu Maharshi* who did not hesitate to kick even Lord Vishnu on his chest when he was found to be ignoring his responsibilities. Such was his moral strength and courage.

Pitaji was of the strong conviction that anyone aspiring to become a political leader must earn it by hard work at the grassroot level and identifying himself with the downtrodden and neglected sections of the society. He applied it to his own sons. Whenever anyone suggested to him that he should groom either my elder brother or me for leadership like other leaders often do, he used to laugh it away. His standard reply was: "If they are interested, they should go into the field". He was opposed to the imposition of leaders from above.

During his marathon *Padyatra* from Kanyakumari to Rajghat in 1983, I could see with my own eyes how he walked miles and miles from one village to another, from South to North to identify himself with the poorest of the poor. It was for no reason that poor and deprived people loved and admired him so much. *Padyatra* was a high point in his life and underlined the need for political leaders to mingle with the masses to understand their problems and aspirations instead of relying solely on second hand inputs as it bridges the communication gap and helps in knowing the 'pulse' of the people. This was amply proved when in a very short time as Prime Minister, he could douse the communal fires and raised the hope of healing many other festering wounds. The *Yatra* also strengthened his position as a true national leader.

He gave equal importance to leaders and common workers of the party and other visitors from all parts of the country and from all walks of life. He never let anyone feel unimportant. Even when seriously ill, he had met his admirers and supporters against the advice of the doctors. When we protested, he silenced us by saying "When they come from such far off places enduring many difficulties on the way to greet me and wish me well, is it not my bounden duty to forget my physical pain and spare a few moments to get their blessings and good wishes"? Even in those trying conditions, he used to amaze us by his photographic memory by recognizing people whom he had met many years back during the *Padyatra* days. Till the end, he was attached to the grassroot level workers. This approach distinguished him from many of his contemporary political leaders.

Pitaji had immense faith in the collective wisdom of the people of the country. He was a diehard optimist. His refrain used to be: "I Hope and Trust". However, in Lok Sabha elections of 1984, he was branded as Bhindranwale of Ballia by the ruling party only because he had opposed the entry of army into the Golden Temple. Voters were emotionally blackmailed in the name of patriotism and he faced defeat. Subsequently, the then President of U.P. Janata Party, his lifelong friend Shri Om Prakash Srivastava, proposed that he should contest for the Rajya Sabha from U.P. The then President of the U.P. BJP, Shri Kalyan Singh, had pledged his party's unconditional support for him. His victory was a certainty. But he declined the offer with the comment that he would enter Lok Sabha only after winning back the confidence of the voters of Ballia, who had been misled to defeat him. His unflinching faith in the people of Ballia was vindicated in the 1989 Lok Sabha elections. After that election, he continued to represent Ballia until his death.

While writing these lines, my mind is crowded with the memories of many events which brought out his sterling qualities of head and heart in abundance.

He was called upon to shoulder the responsibility of the Prime Minister of India under exceptional circumstances. He fully understood the limitations of a minority Government. Yet he tried to bring back normalcy in the country which was torn due to caste and communal strife. In his own imaginative way, he succeeded to a large extent. Though, he was Prime Minister for a very short period, he stood out as an able administrator and a Statesman. He could quickly gain the confidence and admiration of many a seasoned bureaucrat. In matters of national security, none could compel him to act under duress or threat. It is a known fact that when he was convinced by authentic reports from the intelligence agencies that the then Tamil Nadu Government was in collusion with the L.T.T.E., he did not

hesitate for a moment in dismissing the State Government. It must be kept in mind that he was heading a minority Government and when it became certain that he could not continue as Prime Minister without compromising his position; he promptly tendered his resignation. It is widely accepted that if he had continued as Prime Minister for a little more time, many of the country's problems would have been solved amicably. As the late Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao had put: "... he literally threw his Prime Ministership away....., without so much as giving any of us even the barest chance to intervene, which would have almost turned the destiny of the nation decisively".

Pitaji was a true democrat, fearless, a man of conviction and a great Statesman who was rooted in his village origins. He was free from pompousness, ego and pretensions. He was courage personified. Without ever being directly in power for a meaningful length of time, by the sheer strength of his desire to find solutions to problems confronting the people and the ability to take the people along, he could influence India's policy makers towards achieving a more just society. He insisted on finding indigenous solutions to national problems, instead of blindly seeking and accepting international advice and guidance. He insisted on preserving the positives of our tradition while moving with the times. He emphasized the need to protect the environment much before it became a major issue. His fight against Dunkel proposals and the conditionalities imposed by multilateral bodies are ample testimony to this facet of his personality.

Having been born into a farmer's family of a remote village in the Ballia district of Uttar Pradesh, he had to endure all the disadvantages associated with such a place. Through sheer will power, he overcame the disadvantages. He was used to walking eight kilometers everyday to go to school. Indeed, he was the first graduate in his area and would have been the first doctorate, had he not abandoned academics to join the socialist movement led by the doyen of Indian socialist movement, Acharya Narendra Deva. Ascendency to the Prime Ministership of India was only a small peak in his illustrious life. More importantly, he secured a permanent place in India's political firmament by fighting for a just and humane society. I am proud of being his son.

After his sad demise, I was selected by the party to contest from the Ballia seat. I was a bit hesitant. My only qualification as a political worker was being son of Chandra Shekhar. But the love and affection which was bestowed upon me by the people of Ballia, proved beyond doubt that they wanted his legacy to continue. His popularity is deeply rooted in the hearts of young and old. I pray God to give me the courage and strength to follow his footsteps and justify the trust reposed by the people in me.

CHANDRA SHEKHAR : AN INSPIRING PERSONALITY[#]

*—Om Prakash Srivastava**

I was first introduced to Chandra Shekharji during the foundation ceremony of 'Young Socialist League' in Allahabad in 1949. But, it was just a casual introduction. This casual introduction bloomed into close friendship when he joined the Political Science Department of Kashi Hindu Vishwavidyalaya as a research scholar after completing M.A. at the Allahabad University. I was General Secretary of the University Branch of the Samajwadi Yuvak Sabha at that time. Coincidently, we both were students of Political Science and our head of the department was famous Socialist thinker Prof. Mukut Bihari Lal.

Acharya Narendra Devji was the Vice-Chancellor of the Kashi Hindu Vishwavidyalaya at that time. Taking his suggestions as an order, Chandra Shekhar left research to work as a full time worker of the Socialist Party in Ballia.

I was fully aware of the family condition of Chandra Shekharji; so his decision left me completely shaken. How a middle class farmer family would have borne the burden of his higher education could be imagined very easily. His elder brother Ram Nagina Singh was a low salaried Government employee and other members of the family cherished hopes that Chandra Shekhar would get a good job after completing his studies and the economic condition of the family would improve.

Chandra Shekharji must have felt the burden of the hopes and aspirations of the family on his mind while deciding to become a full time worker of the party. But, he was driven by the ideal of creating an equal society and was ready to pay the highest price for it.

We used to meet off and on in Varanasi after he left for Ballia. But, perhaps, destiny wanted to bring us together. I started research work for Ph.D. after completing M.A. in 1954. But, after the arrest of Dr. Lohia in the movement against the irrigation tax in Farrukhabad, I went there with a group of workers to participate in the civil-disobedience movement and Chandra Shekharji came from Ballia to join the same movement. We were arrested together and after being sentenced we were kept together first in the Fatehgarh jail and then in the Bareilly jail.

[#] Originally in Hindi.

* He was a former Minister, Government of Uttar Pradesh.

We came to understand each other anew during the prison life and forged such a friendship which lasted till his death.

It was only on his request that I went to a degree college in Ballia for teaching after being released from the jail.

Those days, he lived with the eminent socialist leader Jagannath Shastry in the party office. I also started living with him. There was not even toilet facility in the Party office, which was named 'Manav Niketan' by him. There was no guarantee of meals. He had made arrangements for my food in a hotel. Even after my requests, he used to have food with me occasionally. On my insistence, he used to say that there are other people in the party office and they would feel bad.

Acharya Narendra Devji had identified the hidden talent in him. When the cracks started appearing in the Praja Socialist Party in 1954-55, he called Chandra Shekharji and me and told that the situation of the state party was very bad and both of us should go to Lucknow for a year and take up the party work in the State. Without thinking much about the consequences, we went to Lucknow.

The administration of the state party was completely in the hands of Dr. Lohia's supporters. The party office was also in their possession. There was no such thing as Party Fund. In the name of Office, there was just a room of late Genda Singh, who was an MLA at that time. This room served as both his residence and party's office. The two rooms acquired in the name of office at Latush Road after some time were in dilapidated condition.

During the course of one year that we had spent at the Latush Road, I saw in Chandra Shekharji the qualities in a man driven by some ideal. Without caring about his personal comfort, he used to tour the area regularly, urge the workers to run the state party properly and send letters after returning to Lucknow. He started getting indigestion problem due to irregular meals and it stayed with him all his life.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that he built up the party afresh on his own and as a result thereof the Praja Socialist Party emerged as the main opposition party in the Legislative Assembly Elections held in the year 1957.

He was so popular among the workers of his party that he continued to be elected as General Secretary of the Party every year till 1963. There were some occasions when a small group of leaders tried to depose him but the workers re-elected him with a huge majority.

One aspect of Shri Chandra Shekharji's personality is very surprising. On one hand there was a large number of persons who loved him from their hearts while on the other some ambitious persons were jealous of him.

I think that Shri Chandra Shekhar was one of those politicians who were often misunderstood.

Shri Chandra Shekhar joined the Congress Party in the year 1964 and thereafter due to his campaigns against the vested interests within the party, a well planned effort was made to create misunderstanding about him among the people.

I have seen time without number that the persons who opposed him knowingly or unknowingly used to become his admirers after few days of coming close to him. When late Shri V.P. Singh raised the issue of Bofors Scandal, a newspaper group was engaged in providing platform to Shri V.P. Singh. That media group felt that perhaps Shri Chandra Shekhar might become a roadblock in V.P. Singh's way. As a result Shri Chandra Shekharji became a topic of cartoon everyday in the newspapers published by that media group. This group did not stop after publishing cartoons only. One day the group published a news item that opium was being produced in the Bharat Yatra Kendra of the Bhondsi ashram. The journalist close to Chandra Shekharji advised him to oppose this move but Chandra Shekhar had always one reply — "Lies cannot stand for long, truth will come out sooner or later".

The same thing happened. That very person, who used to publish all these things, came close to Shri Chandra Shekharji and later on associated with him in his several campaigns.

Similarly some newspapers published absurd news about his relations with some persons. One day he was declared patron of mafia and the other day he was called the richest politician of the country.

I have been closely associated with him for 55 years. We lived in the same house for 23 years out of those 55 years. I have no hesitation to say that such propagandas were an effort of character assassination.

In fact, his life was like an open book and there was nothing to hide. The readers will be surprised to know the persons, who were called godmen in the country, used to respect Shri Chandra Shekharji. One could see Shri Chandra Swami or Bhagwan Ram Avadhoot or any such saint in his house.

Chandra Shekharji did not perform formal 'pooja-paath'. But he respected others' faith. He got a temple of Bhuvneswari constructed in Bhondsi Ashram on the request of Bhagwan Ram Avadhoot. Similarly, one gentleman had vowed to make an offering to a diety and on fulfillment of his wish, he was allowed to construct a temple of 'Hanumanji' in the Ashram. He used to attend the rites observed on special occasions in the temple. The saints respected him so much that a saint wanted to build a

grand temple in Haridwar and he requested Chandra Shekharji to lay the foundation stone of the temple. He accepted the saint's request. A stone bearing his name is still laid at the entrance of the temple.

The persons who used to propagate the news that Shri Chandra Shekharji was the richest politician of the country and the property of Bharat Yatra Trust was Chandra Shekhar's individual property, would be surprised to know that Shri Chandra Shekharji had not nominated any of his family members even as a simple trustee in that trust.

The way Shri Chandra Shekharji kept both of his sons away from politics in this age of dynastic system is an example for other leaders.

Chandra Shekhar used to get huge money during election days. Despite that his selflessness was unmatched. I had observed from very close quarter that no sooner had money reached his hands, he became restless to distribute, it. He never utilized the donations received by the party for his personal purposes. On several occasions, I observed that when no money was left with him for distribution and candidates came who had no money, he used to borrow money and provide it to such candidate. I have information that certain senior officers of public sector banks used to lend him lakhs of rupees at their own risk.

He enjoyed equal reputation amongst the people in general and the bigwigs. The respect he enjoyed amongst even totally unknown persons could easily become a matter of envy for any political figure. Once we were travelling by car from Agra to Delhi. A Rajya Sabha Member Dayanand Sahai was also with us. At 10 O'clock in the night Shri Dayanand Sahai suggested to have dinner at some dhaba. After having the dinner when I was washing my hands at the wash basin outside, the dhaba owner came. He asked if the person with beard was Chandra Shekharji. I said, yes. When Dayanandji went to make payments for the dinner the dhaba owner refused to accept the payment. He said that he was greatly fortunate that Chandra Shekhar took meals at his dhaba. Later, Chandra Shekharji got the amount almost equal to the dinner bill paid to the boys who were serving food to us.

I have similar experiences which I have had on dozens of occasions travelling with him. These experiences of mine are of those days when Chandra Shekharji was not the Prime Minister. Right from Kanyakumari to Kashmir and from Gujarat to small village in the east, wherever he went, people used to gather in large number to see him. He was a national leader in the true sense of the term.

The people, who were of the view that he owned huge property would be shocked to learn that the publishers of the 'Young Indian' still has arrears of lakhs of rupees outstanding towards them and English translation of his Prison Diary is lying composed but has not been published because of shortage of funds. The Hindi word 'Fakkad' suits him the most.

He had very high degree of self-confidence. Because of his self-confidence he came face to face with very powerful people in the Congress Party. First, it was with Morarji Desai and later with Indira Gandhi. It was a cruel irony of history that it was Indira Gandhi only, in whose support he worked relentlessly between 1969 and 1971, ultimately kept him in jail for 19 months during emergency. It was only because of one reason that he had refused to support the proposal moved in the meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party for continuance of the leadership of Indira Gandhi after her election to Parliament was held null and void by the Allahabad High Court.

However, Chandra Shekharji never regretted his decision.

In the same context a very unique aspect of his personality comes to my mind. He never disrespected his defeated opponents, nor did he ever behave bitterly against him. In the 1977 general elections, when the Congress Party was ousted from power and the Janata Party formed Government, it was he who was the second person after Jayaprakash Narayanji, to call on Indira Gandhi on his own and consoled her. We rarely find such persons in politics.

Despite ideological difference he maintained cordial relations with the leaders of the opposition parties and that was the characteristic of his personality. He used to go to any extent for his friends. It was only because of it that he was liked by everyone in political circles.

Even in the severest of crises his ability to fight alone for his principle made him stand alone among his compatriots. During his political journey, there were many occasions when he was seen isolated in politics. By 1980, all the important leaders of the Janata Party had left the party. After Jan Sangh's departure from the Janata Party, several leaders had suggested for dissolution of the Janata Party. Chandra Shekhar responded to them by calling an unprecedented session of the party in 1981 in Sarnath, where over one lakh representatives and party workers took part. In a party's meeting in Benia Bagh (Varanasi), Morarjibhai admitted that though he had seen several large sessions of the Congress Party, he had never seen such a mammoth and well managed session.

Later, he alone undertook a *'padyatra'* from Kanyakumari to Rajghat. He received unprecedented public support for his *'padyatra'*. The Janata Party again revived under his leadership. The Janata Party assumed power

in Karnataka during the period of his *padyatra*. Big leaders, who had deserted the party, rejoined it. Such was the magic of his leadership.

Chandra Shekhar was Prime Minister of the country for a very short time. The circumstances in which he agreed to be a Prime Minister were very critical. The youth were committing self-immolation in protest of reservation and more than 150 youths had immolated themselves. There was curfew in more than a dozen cities in view of the Ram Janmabhumi-Babri Masjid controversy and the Rath Yatra of Shri Advaniji. Extremism in Punjab was showing no signs of cooling down.

Congress, despite being the largest party, was not willing to form the Government in view of the dangers before the country. The country was on the verge of bankruptcy owing to the loans taken by the previous Governments.

Chandra Shekhar showed courage in coming forward in such a situation. He had only 55 MPs with him. The then President invited Chandra Shekhar to form the Government after taking assurance from the Congress that it would not destabilize the Government for atleast one year.

It can only be called a miracle that within one month of taking charge of the Prime Minister's office he brought the country back on track. Youths stopped committing suicide. Curfew was lifted from the cities. Both the parties fighting on the Ram Janmabhumi-Babri Masjid issue agreed for a dialogue and a new opening was made for having talks with the extremists. Punjab Legislative Assembly elections were announced. The country was saved from bankruptcy.

Just after a month of his taking charge, a London newspaper published that the country's command was in the hands of the most able Prime Minister after Jawaharlal Nehru.

The President, who had administered him oath, had written that, had Chandra Shekhar got majority in Lok Sabha, he would have been considered among the ablest premiers. The same view of the officials who had worked with him has been well documented.

When Chandra Shekhar formed the Government with the support of the Congress, some of his critics called it his greed for power. But his critics had to eat their words, the way he resigned from the post of Prime Minister on the slightest of allegations against PM's office.

In fact, Chandra Shekhar was an alert watchman of parliamentary dignity. He was keen to maintain the dignity of the Constitutional posts at any cost.

He used to feel sad due to the everyday noisy scenes in Parliament. He lost his cool when a High Court Judge called the Parliament a 'Fish Market' in an open court and he urged the Speaker to take initiative and protect the dignity of the Parliament. The matter was resolved only with the mediation by the Prime Minister and the Chief Justice.

He had embraced the highest ideals of parliamentary democracy. He received the 'Outstanding Parliamentarian' award. When Ethics Committee was constituted for the first time in the Lok Sabha, then both the Prime Minister and the Lok Sabha Speaker persuaded him to be the Chairman of the Committee. He remained on this post all through his life.

Merits like compassion, philanthropy, continuous struggle against injustice, self-respect, inclination towards maintenance of dignity and harmony in personal friendship even after having difference in principles were the hallmarks of his personality. Just because of this, he was popular among both the ruling and the opposition parties.

Very few people are aware that he was a writer of high calibre. His literary talent is visible in his jail diary and in the articles in 'Sangharsh' and the 'Young Indian'.

His genius was multi-faceted. In true sense, he was not a political leader but a politician who used to take his decisions keeping in view the long term ideals and interests of nation. He was the real son of the Ballia. He reflected the characteristic mark of self-respect, straight-forwardness and courage in not bowing down to even the most powerful.

Today, when the loss and lack of dignity is all pervasive in the public life, it is but natural to remember Chandra Shekharji. There is no doubt that his adventurous journey will always give inspiration to the coming generations.

CHANDRA SHEKHARJI : AN EMINENT POLITICAL PERSONALITY[#]

*—Capt. Abbas Ali**

I first met Chandra Shekharji in 1959-60 at Lucknow. At that time, he was the State Secretary of the U.P. Praja Socialist Party and I was a member of the State Executive of the Socialist Party headed by Dr. Lohia. Shri Ugrasen was a common friend of both of us who was an MLA of the Socialist Party from Deoria at that time. Later in 1977, he became a member of the Lok Sabha from Deoria as well. Shri Ugrasen enjoyed sitting in the Coffee House and gossiping with friends and that is why he used to meet Chandra Shekharji in the Coffee House situated at Hazratganj. Though we were members of the same party from 1948 to 1955 and afterwards joined different political parties, however, political differences never came in way during our personal conversations and we used to have friendly talks. In 1960, when I fought the Legislative Council election as a candidate of the socialist party and lost the election by just $^{1}/_{4}$th (0.29) vote, both Ugrasen and Chandra Shekharji were aggrieved on my defeat. By the year 1964, a faction of the Praja Socialist party under the leadership of Ashoka Mehta started preparation to join the Congress party. In 1962, Chandra Shekharji was elected as a member of the Rajya Sabha from Uttar Pradesh and he used to oppose Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and his Congress party unequivocally. However, when the likes of Shri Ashoka Mehta, Shri Gainda Singh and Shri Narayan Dutt Tiwari decided to join the Congress, he also could not keep himself away and joined the Congress after the death of Nehruji. Though in Uttar Pradesh, some of his best friends like Beni Prasad Madhav, Rajwant Singh and Riyasat Hussain remained in the Praja Socialist Party. Occasions to meet Chandra Shekharji was discontinued from 1964 and after about 13 years in 1977 I met him again in the wake of the formation of the Janata Party. When the Janata Party was formally constituted on 1st May 1977, Chandra Shekharji was elected as the first President of the party and after 6 months I was elected as the President of the Uttar Pradesh Janata Party. He was known as *'Adhyakshaji'* from the time he assumed the office of the President of the Janata Party and was known by the same name till the end even after becoming the Prime Minister. The relationship I established with him while being in the Janata Party in 1977 continued till his death. I have several such pleasant memories of incidents while working with him in the Janata Party which often reminds me about him. He was not only a politically honest and an eminent person

[#] Originally in Hindi.

* He is a freedom fighter and Senior Socialist Leader and has been the Member of Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council.

but also used to give much importance to personal relationships and would always share moments of pleasure and pain of his friends. I remember that in March-April 1978, biennial elections were scheduled to be held for the Rajya Sabha and the Legislative Council in Uttar Pradesh. Nine members were to be elected for the Rajya Sabha and the same number of members were to be elected for the Legislative Council from the Janata Party and the Central Parliamentary Board of the Janata Party had to select the names of the candidates. At that time, factionalism was at its peak in the Janata Party and the candidates were selected on that basis only. My candidature was also mooted for the Rajya Sabha in the meeting of the Parliamentary Board and the former Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh and the Treasurer of the Janata Party Chandrabhanu Gupta proposed my candidature. However, the name of Surendra Mohanji from the Socialist Party was already proposed. So late Charan Singh did not agree to give any seat from his quota to me. At this, late Madhu Limaye proposed my name for the Legislative Council, but here also, due to factionalism my name could not figure in the list of proposed candidates. At that time, Shri Chandra Shekharji utilizing his 'veto power' made me a candidate for the Legislative Council and placed my name in the list by deleting the name of his own candidate. In the meeting of the Parliamentary Board he argued that "Kaptan Saheb is the president of the Uttar Pradesh party and I know how the party is run". If he is not sent to the Legislative Council, how come the arrangement for his stay at Lucknow and his to and fro journey to Lucknow for carrying out party work will be executed?

I was very much impressed with this step of Chandra Shekharji. The second incident is of November 1978. I requested and gave invitation to Shri Chandra Shekharji to attend the wedding of my two daughters which was to be solemnized at my village Kalandar Gadhi situated in Bulandshahar which he readily accepted and attended. In June 1983, when Chandra Shekharji was undertaking the historical *'Padyatra'* from Kanyakumari to Delhi, sudden demise of my wife occurred. When Chandra Shekharji came to know about this, he wrote a very touching letter consoling me despite his busy schedule during his *'Padyatra'*. In support of his *'Padyatra'*, I also undertook a *padyatra* in the month of June from Bulandshahar to Delhi with some of my colleagues and when I met him after reaching Delhi, he became emotional to see me and hugged me. In October 1991, on the occasion of the marriage of my son, he came to Aligarh from Delhi to attend the function. Though at that time, he was the Prime Minister but it was his humane and intimate aspect that he remained a good friend and knew very well how to maintain relationships in every circumstances.

Now, I would like to mention some political aspects of Chandra Shekharji. He was a straight-forward and courageous person and he used to express views without caring for political consequences. He was a supporter of

Smt. Indira Gandhi at the time of the split in the Congress Party in 1969 and was an opponent of the likes of Morarji Desai, Nijalingappa. However, he never expected any favour from Smt. Gandhi and a time came when he even got elected to the Congress Working Committee and the Election Committee challenging Smt. Indira Gandhi. At the time of the JP movement of 1974, it was his opinion that Smt. Indira Gandhi should hold talks with Lok Nayak Jayaprakash Narayan and he himself made efforts for this. However, his efforts proved unsuccessful. As a result, Chandra Shekharji had to face the wrath of Smt. Indira Gandhi and on 26 June 1975, he was arrested alongwith Jayaprakash Narayan and had to remain in jail for the complete 19 months during Emergency. He criticized his Janata Party several times when his party came to power at the Centre during March 1977 to July 1979 and did not hesitate to remove the Chief Ministers of several States on the basis of policies. The change of leadership in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Haryana at that time is an example of this. After communal riots that took place in Aligarh in 1978, he criticized the then Chief Minister and personally assessed the law and order situation over there after visiting Aligarh.

When the problem of terrorism emerged in the decade of 1980's in Punjab, Chandra Shekharji stated that a solution to this problem should be found out by holding a dialogue and through mutual agreement, but what he said was not heeded to. Subsequently, when the Operation Bluestar was carried out in the Golden Temple, Chandra Shekharji was the only political leader who severely condemned this incident and contended that it would have terrible consequences. Just a few months later, this incident led to the assassination of Smt. Indira Gandhi. During that period, the epithets which were used for Chandra Shekharji cannot be put down in black and white. Some people even went to the extent of calling him a traitor. As a result, he lost the Lok Sabha elections for the first and the last time in 1984. But he was not ready to compromise with his principles. In 1985-86, a Rajya Sabha berth was proposed for Chandra Shekharji. At that time, the Janata Party Government was in power in Karnataka and he could have been elected from Uttar Pradesh also, but he chose to send Shri Ashoknath Verma, the son of Late Acharya Narendra Deva to Rajya Sabha in his place. In 1991 when Chandra Shekharji became the Prime Minister in the aftermath of the split in the Janata Dal, he had the option to continue as the Prime Minister of the country for a longer time if he could have compromised with his political principles, but he never compromised with his pride and self-respect. He lived a dignified life and continued to frankly express his views on socio-economic issues of the country. He was the last such political leader of the country whom no Member of Parliament dared to oppose whenever he rose to express his views in the Parliament and his speech was

listened with full seriousness and rapt attention in the Lok Sabha. As such, he was honoured with the award of the Outstanding Parliamentarian as well. Brought up in extreme poverty, Chandra Shekharji's political grooming took place under the socialist ideology. He got associated with the socialist movement in his student life itself and stuck lifelong to those principles. He strived to persuade the Congress Party to adopt the Socialist ideology as well. The credit of nationalization of banks, abolition of privy purses, moulding the Congress into a Socialist groove, addition of 'Socialist' word in the Preamble of the Constitution by the Government of Smt. Indira Gandhi goes to a large extent to the 'Young Turk', Chandra Shekharji and his colleagues.

THE UNDISCOVERED FACETS OF SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR'S PERSONALITY[#]

—*Sohanvir Singh Tomar**

We are all well aware that Chandra Shekharji was a pioneer of socialist movement, remained President of the Janata Party for years and rose to become the Prime Minister of the country. However, there are certain facets of his life which are not known to many. I would like to touch upon some such anecdotes.

I took admission in B.A. in Prayag University in the year 1951. Prayag University was a very reputed university in those days and it had earned a name and fame in the education sector. There was an organized students' movement in Prayag University and the students of that era played a crucial role in national politics. I was putting up in the Hindu hostel and so was Chandra Shekharji. He was then the leader of the Samajwadi Yuvak Sabha and the Hindu hostel was a Centre of Socialist activities. Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singhji was also a student of Prayag University, although he was aloof from politics. His elder brother Santbaksh Singh was active in Samajwadi Yuvak Sabha and was also the President of the Student's Union of Prayag University. Apart from Samajwadi Yuvak Sabha, Students' Federation was also active in the University at that time and was led by Asif Ansari who became the Judge of High Court later on. Students' Federation was the youth front of the Communist Party. In those days, elections to the Students' Federation were contested on party lines and the socialist and the Communists were the prominent contestants.

During the period of my stay in the hostel I came in contact with the colleagues inclined towards socialist ideology. These included Shri Chandra Shekharji, Shri Kashinath Mishra, who later became the President of the Students' Federation and Shri Vashishtha Narayan *et al*. Ragging of freshers on the campus was much in vogue those days. Chandra Shekharji along with other socialist colleagues opposed ragging. I was deeply impressed by his initiative and I began to hold him in high esteem. We started participating actively in the activities of the Socialist Party under his leadership. Those days the University boasted of a faculty which included Shri Harivansh Rai Bachchan, the father of Amitabh Bachchan, Firaq Gorakhpuri, Dr. Ishwari Prasad and the likes who were very renowned professors and among students were the likes of Shri Chandra Shekhar, Asif Ansari, Kedarnath Singh,

[#] Originally in Hindi.

* He was Ex-MLA, UP Legislature and Secretary of the Harit Pradesh Sangharsh Samiti.

Kashi Nath Mishra, Jnaneshwar Mishra, Vishwanath Pratap Singh who rose to eminence in politics.

I came so close to Chandra Shekharji that during holidays we used to visit each other's house in his village Ibrahimpatti and Ballia and my house in Baraut alternately.

After completing his Masters, Chandra Shekharji took up research in Banaras University. Acharya Narendra Deva was the Vice Chancellor of Banaras University in those days. He asked Chandra Shekharji to give up research work and look after the party affairs in Bihar.

Gauri Shankar Rai was the then leader of the Party in Ballia. Chandra Shekharji went there and made the party office his abode. Chandra Shekharji had an immense sense of self respect. It becomes evident from this small incident. Due to his busy schedule Shri Gauri Shankar Rai forgot to make arrangement for Shri Chandra Shekhar's food. Chandra Shekharji had some money with him. He used to buy some *'Sattu'* and fed himself on it every day. He participated in the party activities/programmes during the day as usual. After a month when Gauri Shankar Rai learned that Chandra Shekharji was not eating food for months he deplored the fact and apologized to him.

In 1954, I completed my Masters and was ordered by the party to work in Meerut. In those days Shri Gyanendra Kumar Jain was the party General Secretary and Maharaj Singh Bharati was the leader of the party. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia launched a state-wide campaign against Special Powers Act during that period. Chandra Shekharji was put behind the bars in Bareilly and Maharaj Singh Bharati and I were jailed in Faizabad. Chandra Shekharji came in contact with Shri Om Prakash Shrivastava in Bareilly jail who was associated with RSS in those days. He was influenced by Chandra Shekharji and became a socialist and thereafter remained with Chandra Shekharji all along. The Special Powers Act was repealed by the High Court and we were all set free. On the advice of Shri Chandra Shekhar, I alongwith my companions started organizing the workers of Modi Cloth Mill. In the meantime, Samajwadi Party was bifurcated. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia floated a separate party and Chandra Shekharji was appointed as the General Secretary of party by Acharya Narendra Deva. Chandra Shekharji used to visit Modinagar, Meerut and Baraut in connection with party organization.

There was a party office in Ramvatika, Chhipi Tank, Baccha Park in Meerut which had only one room. There was no provision for a washroom there and we had no residence in the city. Whenever Chandra Shekharji visited this place, he used to stay in that one room cell and go long distance in the fields to relieve himself in the wee hours of the morning.

The party had no arrangements for his lodging and food. Once Chandra Shekharji came from Lucknow to participate in a party programme. Hukam Singh and I were in the office when Chandra Shekharji came with his belongings wrapped in a blanket. It was lunch time and we had a total of ₹ one and a half. There was an eatery (Dhaba) near the office which served food for ₹ one and a half per person. When we went to the eatery, Hukam Singh and I complained of stomachache and we said that both of us would not eat. We asked them to serve Chandra Shekharji. Chandra Shekharji immediately understood our game and told us not to complain of false stomachache as he had enough money. Then three of us had food and went to attend an assembly of sugarcane growers.

Cloth Mill Workers had staged an agitation in Modinagar. There was complete strike in the Mill. Two workers died in police firing and we were all arrested and sent to jail. Dayavanti, wife of our local leader, Munshi Ram Jain, was also arrested. Chandra Shekharji and Om Prakash Shrivastava came to Modinagar to support the agitation and were lodged in Munshi Ram Jain's house. There was no one to cook the food for them in the house since the wife of Munshi Ram Jain had been arrested. However, there were enough dry fruits and other food items which Munshi Ram Jain had kept under lock. Om Prakashji told Chandra Shekharji that they would not get dry fruits and other things to eat as long as Munshi Ram was at home, so he should be made to flee from the house. He told Munshi Ram that strict arrest warrants had been issued in his name. In those days the mere mention of arrest warrant made the Union Leaders go underground. Munshi Ram fled immediately and Chandra Shekharji and Om Prakashji had their fill of dry fruits. However, the police came to know of their hideout and they were arrested the third day.

Once Chandra Shekharji had to go to Modinagar to address the rally of workers and he had no money to pay the fare. He went to Lucknow Charbag Railway station and told the booking clerk that he had to go to Hapur but had no money. He asked him to recognize the passenger and requested to give tickets with the promise that he would pay the fare after returning back. The Booking clerk was overwhelmed and gave two tickets, one for Chandra Shekharji and another for his companion. Later, he returned the money. Chandra Shekharji was such a person. Except for an ex-prime minister of India, Lal Bahadur Shastri, there was, perhaps, no other Prime Minister who struggled so hard for achieving political prestige. He was the son of a common farmer, however, he was self-respecting. He never bowed before the State power. When Indira Gandhi was all powerful in the Congress Party and no one had the guts to raise a voice against her, he contested against her in the election of Congress Working Committee in the Shimla Conference of the AICC and got elected by a majority of votes. His tenure as the

Member of Rajya Sabha was going to end. The same year C.B. Gupta and Kamlapati Tripathy were the leader of Congress in Uttar Pradesh. The name of Chandra Shekharji did not figure in the list of prospective members for Rajya Sabha that was sent by them. We went to Chandra Shekharji and urged him to meet Indira Gandhi otherwise it will not be possible to get a ticket for Rajya Sabha. Chandra Shekharji told in anger as to why should he meet Indira Gandhi and that too for a ticket. I have no objection to whatever decision is taken by the party, he said. Next day Chandra Shekharji and Indira Gandhi were invited in a public banquet. Everybody was trying to attract the attention of Indira Gandhi by approaching her but Chandra Shekharji remained seated in his place. Indira Gandhi emerged from the crowd and reached to Chandra Shekharji and told him that the leaders of UP were so mean that they did not propose his name because we had difference of opinion. In fact how can we imagine of Rajya Sabha without you, she said. Then, the name of Chandra Shekharji was at the top in the list of Congress candidates for Rajya Sabha.

Chandra Shekharji was not the son of an eminent person. I have seen his student and political life from close quarters. Everybody knows about his political life. I have revealed some of the reminiscences of his student life.

CHANDRA SHEKHAR AS I SEE HIM[#]

*—Hukmdev Narayan Yadav**

Most of the friends and party workers used to address revered Chandra Shekharji as *Adhyakshaji*. All his friends used to approach him without any hesitation; used to sit quite close to him and used to have talks with him fearlessly in an atmosphere of intimacy. Some of his friends used to have hours long discussion with him and they used to deliberate upon issues relating to religion, culture, literature, politics and governance in detail. He was very intimate with his friends. He responsively shared the moments of both pleasure and pain of one and all. Since 1985 till his last moment, I was emotionally attached to him. I got an opportunity of working as a Minister in his Cabinet. The respect, love and authority he bestowed upon his colleagues, perhaps, none of the other Prime Ministers could have done. I worked as a Minister of State under respected Atal Bihari Vajpayeeji, but he always treated me as a Cabinet Minister. I also worked with Choudhary Charan Singhji for years. He loved me more than his son. The company of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was exceptional. For several years, I was with Karpoori Thakurji, like his shadow. His affection was unmatched. Though all of them were different yet they followed the same path. Their lifestyle was very simple and free from ostentations. Truth and sincerity were their companions. I have several reminiscences of my foot marches with them. They were great marchers, fearless warriors and an embodiment of kind-heartedness, infinite wisdom and overwhelming personalities. I have experienced that when a person from the grassroot level, living in misery and other adverse conditions and fighting constantly against all odds, keeps on marching ahead with sincerity, patience, courage, kindness, sensibility, impartiality, ability to accept everything and undying confidence and becomes a historical figure. When such a person from simple background rises so high it sounds like some miracle. *"Had chale so manwa, behad chale so Sadhu, had behad dou tajai taka mata agadh"*. Though I joined BJP in 1993, he kept inviting me to his personal and family functions with the same love and affection and kept meeting me. There was no difference. I express my most sincere regards for this friend, leader, guide, colleague and ideological companion. The traveller left us, but the road is still there.

[#] Originally in Hindi.

* He was a Member of Parliament (Lok Sabha) and former Union Cabinet Minister and Minister of State.

The path is same but the destination is yet far. One or the other visionary and initiator of the new age has always been taking birth and will be doing so in future also. All of us are the travellers of the same path. Let us all follow our own destination with one thing in mind that we all have to reach the same target.

"Hum log hain aise diwane, duniya ko badal kar manenge.
Manzil ki dhun main aye hain manzil ko pa kar manenge."

My sincerest of regards to such leaders.

CHANDRA SHEKHAR : SHINNING STAR OF INDEPENDENT INDIA'S POLITICS[#]

—*Dr. Sanjay Singh**

Chandra Shekharji appeared like a shining star on the political horizon of independent India. The Indian soul, agitated and wandering since ages, appeared like a brightly shining star and disappeared. Some people saw this shining star as a falling meteor with fear bringing arson and disorder while others saw him as the saviour of new politics, new India and followed him. Bearing the cross of neglect and bad name from the established sections of the society and the rulers on his shoulder, this Young Turk dedicated himself to take the rocks head on with determination and kept himself busy in creating something new. In brief, his life was like the tough graveyard rituals performed by the Aghori Sadhus to breathe life into the dead society with the aim to awaken the powers of destruction and creation.

He was born in 1927 in a very ordinary farmer family in a village named Ibrahimpatti in district Ballia in Uttar Pradesh popularly known as the land of rebels. He received primary education from the local schools and had his Master's Degree in Political Science in 1951 from the Allahabad University. He got drawn to politics during his student life which remained till the end of life. He actively participated in the student movements and became popular as a firebrand student leader.

In 1951, itself, he joined the Socialist Movement on the order of Acharya Narendra Deva and became the General Secretary of the Ballia District Socialist Party. In view of his hard work and unflinching commitment to the socialist principles and organizational skills, he was made Joint Secretary of the State Praja Socialist Party in 1952 and its General Secretary later on. He was elected a member of the National Executive of the Socialist Party in 1959 and was elected to Rajya Sabha in 1962. Just after two years, he became a member of Congress Party in January, 1965. He was elected Secretary of the Congress Parliamentary, after the fourth general elections in the country in 1967. He remained the member of the Congress Working Committee for few years after 1972. He was lodged in Patiala Central Jail for 19 months during emergency as a political prisoner. He was released just a few days before the Lok Sabha elections. He got elected to Lok Sabha with a thumping majority from Ballia Parliamentary Constituency in 1977. He was elected the President of the Janata Party on the founding day function of the party on 1 May 1977.

[#] Originally in Hindi.

* He is a Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha) and former Union Minister of State.

Chandra Shekharji completed a *padyatra* from Kanyakumari to Rajghat (Delhi) from 6 January 1983 to 25 June 1983, which is known as 'Bharat Yatra'. The aim of his march was to feel the problem of the common man, raise voice against inequality and discrimination and express his commitment to the exploited and the victimized people. This *padyatra* brought him immense popularity. He founded the Samajwadi Janata Party with the help of a few leaders from the Janata Dal after the fall of the then Prime Minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh's Janata Dal Government. With a view to saving the country from the burden of another election, he formed the Government with the support of Congress Party. But, this Government did not survive long. His tenure as Prime Minister was just for months. From 1977 till his death (except in 1984), he was elected as MP from Ballia continuously for eight terms. In view of his excellence in participation in the debates in the Parliament, he was also awarded the 'Outstanding Parliamentarian Award' in 1995. He breathed his last on 8 July 2007 after serious illness.

Those who have seen Chandra Shekharji from close quarters and tried to understand him know that the main features of his personality were — dark, slim and medium built with ordinary rough body, small but unkempt beard, large forehead, bright and sharp eyes, chin indicating strength and depth of self-confidence, naughty smile from the corners of the lips, open-hearted nature, happy mentality etc. But can someone's facial features give a true indication of his personality? Generally, it is believed to be so and the art of face reading has evolved from this superstition itself. Some like reading future from the horoscope and palms. But, there are many exceptions to this also like Socrates, Gandhi, Abraham Lincoln, Jean Paul Sartre and Vyas the author of the Mahabharat. Same can be said about Chandra Shekharji's personality. He was in favour of knowing and understanding a personality through its work and determination.

Chandra Shekharji was in favour of simplicity to such an extent that I never saw him in English costumes. He never wore a tie or a pant-shirt. He used to wear a closed neck coat over *dhoti kurta* in winters. He used to go on foreign visits in the same Indian costume. He used to speak in Hindi, if there was no compulsion, and generally in Bhojpuri amongst his own people. He was a supporter of the people's language and people's costume.

Shri Chandra Shekharji was a very mature thinker and a great visionary politician. He developed his socialist ideology in keeping with the Indian millieu. He was associated with socialists like Acharya Narendra Deva and Ashoka Mehta and was influenced by their thoughts and conduct. He did not give importance only to physical or material equality. He wanted that

there should be coherence in one's thoughts and actions. He often used to say that in Indian politics people talk tall but do not put the same principles in practice themselves. He was of the view that satiation of both spiritual and the physical hunger is equally important and one should make efforts to satisfy both these desires. Shri Chandra Shekharji's personality should be assessed from the angle of the works he did and the resolution he fulfilled in his life. This is what he always believed in and upheld. That is why once a famous sculptor came to his ashram in Bhondsi and wanted to make his statue. Shri Chandra Shekhar refused it by saying that any memorial of any person should be set up at least after 100 years of his death when his works have been evaluated without any prejudice and his fame has faded away. Perhaps at that time he must be thinking that he too would be evaluated by the coming generations. Besides he would also be thinking like *Sartre* the existentialist philosophers that a person is not what he presents himself to be but he is what the others think about him. A person cannot view himself objectively. An objective assessment of a person can be made by others only.

Shri Chandra Shekharji was one of those leaders of the country who treated everyone equally, rich or poor, leader or worker, officer or peon, saint or criminal, Indian or foreign, Brahmin or Shudra, man or woman. Even his opponents appreciated this quality. This equal treatment was not only reflected in his words but also in his actions. He used to be very conscious while speaking and he never made any offensive comment against anyone, not even against a common man. He often used strong words against the bigwigs and the persons in power or those who flaunted their wealth and who were hypocrites or pretentious but he never used nor let others use such words against people of lower strata. He always treated his cook, gardener, servants, and drivers etc. as his younger brothers.

Shri Chandra Shekharji had been one of the rare personalities of the last few decades of independent India who remained active constantly on both the fronts — thought and action. Otherwise the existence of dichotomy between the thoughts and action has been a major problem in our times. While on one hand there is intelligentsia, who are busy in writing, reading or discussions, but remain cut off from the real world and live in a separate world, on the other hand there are people who are active in field but do not indulge much in thinking and reading. It is a sign of social degeneration. Shri Chandra Shekharji symbolized the struggle against this trend. This struggle is clearly reflected in his editorials written in 'Young Indian' weekly, his essays compiled in the book titled 'Dynamics of Social Change' and his notes in 'Meri Jail Diary'. As an initiator of alternative politics and a rare spokesman of vanishing Indian socialism he made his observations on almost every important political and social event in his writings and speeches

made in the Parliament and tried to analyse the event and put them in a logical perspective. Shri Chandra Shekharji's writings have one more characteristic. They always offered concrete suggestions on every issue, be it bringing new and alternative politics or dealing with challenges to make the democracy meaningful, or finding solution to Kashmir problem, or Punjab problem or Babri-Ram Janmabhumi dispute or tackling the issue of corruption and immorality or the issue of administrative reforms. He used to suggest alternatives while attacking the existing mechanisms at the same time. In this sense he was not only a fierce critic but also an exponent of alternatives.

Shri Chandra Shekharji has written somewhere in 'Young Indian' that it is not necessary that the voters elect only honest or virtuous person in elections. The public looks for heroism, capability and diligence in a candidate first and morality comes later. Responsibility of enforcing values in the society and showing way to the society rests with intellectual. If values are eroded, it is their failure. The golden era of politics *i.e.* combination of heroism and moral values in politics, begins when a movement for enforcing values in religion, culture, education, economic policy and politics takes place in any State or teritory region.

He expressed his views also on corruption,the biggest problem of the day. Everybody knows that corruption is closely linked with national character we build and the values we develop. There is a national yardstick for both public conduct and one's private life. Good conduct is not an individualistic quality. We can't get rid of corruption merely by preaching moral conduct or by providing training or by bringing gentlemen in politics. For this purpose, we will have to create a work culture and also political culture. Chandra Shekharji propounded three pillars of moral conduct in political parties — idealistic objective for changing and reforming the society, sympathetic attitude to exploited and oppressed section of society and development of work-culture and equality, brotherhood and sense of discipline within the party or the organization.

I believe that increase in the level of inequality in the society will result in polarization of social forces. On the one hand, there will be combined onslaught of fundamentalist and capitalist forces and on the other hand downtrodden, victimised and deprived sections along with womenfolk will stand together and will struggle for creation of a better society through the path shown by Chandra Shekharji. We know that Chandra Shekharji actions are by no means different from his thought. In fact, Chandra Shekhar was one of the rarest politicians who never allowed any gap between his actions and thought. His actions and thoughts used to intermingle. It was Chandra Shekhar's heartfelt desire that this tradition of unison in action and thought occupies maximum space in Indian society.

CHANDRA SHEKHAR : A GREAT POLITICIAN[#]

*—Vidya Charan Shukla**

Shri Chandra Shekhar was one of those leaders who can be associated with the likes of great politicians such as Acharya Narendra Deva. He was a man of firm belief and used to respect other's thinking.

When we became friends it was like love at first sight. I was a staunch follower of Indiraji but he, while respecting Indiraji, never gave up his idealistic attitude.

It was a gross mistake on our part that we did not subscribe to his assessment about Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh. Prevailing circumstances also played a role therein. He did not take it otherwise, even when his close associates disassociated with him. He was a straightforward and outspoken person and that is why he never had a large following though he held several higher positions. I can write a lot about him but it would suffice to mention here that the Indian politics would rarely witness the services of such a great politician.

[#] Originally in Hindi.

* He was former Union Cabinet Minister and Member of Parliament (Lok Sabha).

CHANDRA SHEKHAR AND PARLIAMENT[#]

*—Dasai Chowdhary**

As a member of ninth Lok Sabha, I had the privilege to work with former Prime Minister late Chandra Shekharji. I was closely associated with him and listened to his speeches.

Late Chandra Shekharji was a symbol of simplicity and high thinking in political life and he was known for fearless and straightforward expression of views in the Parliament. That is why, people still remember him for his ideas even today. One special thing about him was that he was always there to help out his party workers and colleagues in need.

In Parliament, Chandra Shekhar's speech was always full of substance and based on truth. He was known as a troubleshooter in the Parliament as he was always ready with solutions to burning problems and the crisis likely to be faced by the country. That is why the leaders of all the political parties and Members of Parliament used to appreciate his speeches made in the Parliament. During his speech in the Parliament, it seemed as if Goddess Saraswati herself was speaking from his mouth.

Late Chandra Shekharji was not only well-versed in the Parliamentary affairs, but was a pillar of Indian politics. In case of any deadlock arising out of some debate in the Parliament, it was he who used to find a solution and leaders of all the parties had to accept it. It is for this political acumen that he was awarded the 'Outstanding Parliamentarian Award' in 1995.

In 1989, after the Lok Sabha elections, election for the post of leader of the Janata Dal Parliamentary Party was held in the Central Hall of the Parliament where all the MPs of the party were present. All the MPs were stunned when Chandra Shekharji proposed the name of late Devi Lalji for the leader. But, after a while, when Devi Lalji proposed the name of late Vishwanath Pratap Singh for the leader, Chandra Shekharji got upset and went out saying that he never considered V.P. Singh as a leader and would never consider him a leader in future either which showed his courage and fearlessness.

In December 1990, the V.P. Singh Government fell after Bharatiya Janata Party withdrew its support from the Government. Thereafter, Chandra Shekharji got the opportunity to become the Prime Minister of India with

[#] Originally in Hindi.

* He was former Union Deputy Minister.

the support from the Congress. At that time, the fire of Mandal Commission had spread all over the country and workers of the political parties which were in favour of or against the Mandal Commission were hell-bent on taking each other's life while demonstrating their power. But, the moment late Chandra Shekharji took over the Prime Minster's Office, the fire of Mandal Commission doused by itself which indicated his administrative ability and political efficiency.

I remember an incident when the Congress party was considering to withdraw its support from the Government on a minor issue. Meanwhile, Chandra Shekharji summoned all of his cabinet colleagues and asked them to resign. All the Ministers submitted their resignation to the Prime Minster immediately. After that, he said that they should be ready for the elections as he would make an announcement of his resignation in the Parliament that day itself. But, no leader of any party could believe that he could resign from the Office of Prime Minister.

The Parliament was in session. As I was about to enter Parliament at about 11 A.M., Shri Rajiv Gandhiji called me and took me to his office and asked what step was likely to be taken by Shri Chandra Shekharji. I told him that he would resign from the Office of Prime Minister that day. Rajiv Gandhiji kept on brooding over it for five minutes and then asked me to go and stop Shri Chandra Shekharji from submitting resignation. Shri Rajivji told me that he wanted to talk to him for five minutes only and thereafter, he was ready to continue supporting the Government without any condition. I went running to the Prime Minister and conveyed Shri Rajiv Gandhiji's message to him in detail. But Shri Chandra Shekharji refused to meet Shri Rajiv Gandhiji and said that nothing was possible as it was too late.

I was disappointed and conveyed the message of Shri Chandra Shekharji to Shri Rajiv Gandhiji. On hearing this, Shri Rajivji said, "This step is unfortunate".

Thereafter, I came to the House and took my seat. As the time passed by, the Members of Parliament were getting more and more excited to hear the decision of Shri Chandra Shekharji. At last that happened which Shri Chandra Shekharji had already decided. After announcing his resignation in the House, Shri Chandra Shekharji went to the President. It proves that Shri Chandra Shekharji had no greed for power, rather what he craved for was respect and he believed in politics of principles; otherwise who would not like to continue as the Prime Minister.

FORMER PRIME MINISTER SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHARJI: A SUI GENERIS PERSONALITY[#]

*—Dr. Jagannath Mishra**

India is a sovereign, socialist, secular and democratic country. Its Constitution provides for social, economic and political equality for all its citizens. Every citizen of the country be it a Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian, Buddhist, Jain, poor or rich, *dalit* or from any upper caste enjoys equal and full freedom of thought, expression, belief in religion and worship. Not only this, the Constitution provides equal rights to all its citizens for leading respectful life. In the context of these fundamental rights Chandra Shekharji's name will go down in India's history in golden letters. He was very brilliant and an upright thinker. He never accepted any myth without proper reasoning. He dedicated his whole life for equality of mankind. Throughout his life, Chandra Shekharji kept fighting for have-nots, the downtrodden and the helpless people. He remained a warrior throughout his life for turning his dream of building a better society into a reality. He was a spokesperson of the struggle for social justice. Shri Chandra Shekharji viewed the freedom to man and national integration as essential ingredients for rise of a nation. In this context, he used to say "when everyone in the society enjoys freedom to live, to lead his life according to his customs and religious set-up, then only national integration and communal harmony is strengthened". He emphasized that the majorities along with the minorities should also perform their role in strengthening national integration. He had said, "it would be a great task if majority communities endeavour to unite all the sections of society living in India". He always laid great emphasis on nationality, for, he knew that, there can't be nationalism without the spirit of nationality. India being an independent country is not enough, it is necessary to make it an egalitarian country from religious, socio-economic and political point of view. *Swarajya* is a system of governance wherein a man can live in humanly way in real perspective. Though we have become an independent country there is still lack of equality. There is great inequality in people's social and economic life and if we are not in a position to remove it then this temple of democracy built with hard labour may collapse. We should utilize our full power in translating the dream of creation of an "ideal society" devoid of exploitation and based on equality. He always dreamt of an India, wherein, a man could live with his head high. Describing the safeguarding of country's independence as foremost duty, he had said,

[#] Originally in Hindi.

* He was former Chief Minister of Bihar and Chairman, L.N. Mishra Institute of Economic Development and Social change.

"it is our first and foremost duty to safeguard swarajya". Any kind of disunity in our society will take our independence away. Therefore, we must not get entangled in frivolous crimes and fight for our independence till the last drop of our blood. If there is any conflict in views we should sit together and find solution to the problems in cordial atmosphere. We should look out for solutions to our problems through constitutional means otherwise it will create chaos.

He was born and brought up in a simple family in district Ballia in eastern Uttar Pradesh. No sooner the name of Chandra Shekharji, a staunch supporter of socialist ideology, comes to mind several memories of his past and other feelings start hovering on the screen of the mind like monsoon clouds. It was his quality while in active politics he never sank in the quagmire of party-politics or power-politics and while occupying very important positions he was never egoistic. The truth is that he was not interested in occupying position but was always interested in public service. He had great interest in creative activities and public service. He gave a serious thought to socialist revolution and whatever he did for the welfare of helpless has gone on records in golden letters in India's history. He was an idealist and efficient administrator who loved working as per principles. There was absolutely no difference between his views and deeds. He was known as an upright speaker. Discipline remained his ideal throughout life and he always prompted others to stay disciplined. Honesty and simplicity was his distinctive feature. His personality was devoted to Indian polity and he played an active role in strengthening our democratic values.

Chandra Shekharji got inspiration from Acharya Narendra Deva of Banaras Hindu University. During his student life he was actively associated with socialist ideology. He came to limelight in the country during the Congress' pre-split era when he conducted a country-wide campaign on the issue of nationalization of banks and withdrawal of privy-purses alongwith 10 point economic programme and emerged as a 'Young Turk'.

In the Presidential election in 1969, Shri V.V. Giri got elected defeating congress nominee Shri Sanjiva Reddy on Smt. Indira Gandhi's call for conscience vote. Leaders like Chandra Shekhar played a major role at that time. Thus, he had the active support of Smt. Indira Gandhi after split in the Congress Party. As a firm supporter of politics of ideology, Shri Chandra Shekharji used to do politics on his own terms only. Hailing from a farmer family, the respect and dignity for the Indian farmer remained all pervasive in his unaffected personality from the beginning till the end. That is why he was given much respect among his friends and colleagues.

On many occasions, both within and outside the Parliament, Chandra Shekharji said that economic democracy and a welfare state could

be possible only through economic justice. Now, the Government is concerned about corporate groups, not about the public. Privatisation has affected the spirit of the Preamble to the Indian Constitution. The true basis of the political democracy is social and economic democracy. Social balance has been achieved to some extent through social justice. But, the economic imbalance has been increasing constantly. The ideas of the Indian Constitution include not only political democracy but also social and economic democracy. But, economic justice has been sidelined in the last two decades. For him, social democracy was a view of life which gives identity to the freedom, equality and brotherhood. These three principles are not separate from each other and looking at them separately implies the defeat of the purpose of democracy.

In the context of pitiable condition of the poor villagers under the new liberalization policy and neo-imperialism of the multinational companies, Shri Chandra Shekharji was a staunch supporter of inclusive development. He himself had faced the reality of rural poverty and succeeded in reaching the Prime Minister's Office of the country despite many odds. That is why he never hesitated to criticize those political leaders who flaunted their wealth and would say this proverb that 'wearer only knows where the shoe pinches'. Whenever Chandra Shekharji stood up to speak in Parliament, there would be pin-drop silence all around and all the people would raptly listen to his candid speech. It was not without reason that he was honoured with the inaugural "Outstanding Parliamentarian Award" on 12 December 1995. The speakers on that occasion had thrown light on the various aspects of Shri Chandra Shekharji's multi-faceted personality. The then Speaker, Lok Sabha had said that the words emanating from Shri Chandra Shekharji's heart really touch everyone's hearts and reflect pain and suffering of the common man.

The remarks made by eminent persons in regard to Shri Chandra Shekharji's personality thrill our psyche even today. On his becoming the Prime Minister of India, the 'Time' magazine had called him as a 'Man who always disagreed in Politics'. Prabhash Joshi had written that he would take up the governance issues with Shri Chandra Shekharji and not with 'V.P.' or 'Atal'. Prabhashji also wrote that 'Talking about honesty, transparency or morality in politics is useless today. Everyone accepts it but if there is anyone who can show the courage to accept it on stage then that person is Chandra Shekharji only'.

Shri Chandra Shekharji had entered the 75th year of his life on 17 April, 2001. On this occasion, many books were published on his life and works among which his *'Meri Jail Diary',* written during the Emergency, occupies a prominent place. Further, Shri Chandra Shekharji's autobiography in

Hindi—*'Zindagi Ka Karvan'* was published which contains many close anecdotes related to his life. Since this autobiography is in Hindi, it is not possible for English speaking people to obtain information on the things related to Chandra Shekharji directly. Perhaps, now some initiative is being taken for publishing the translation of Chandra Shekharji's *'Meri Jail Diary'* and other books in English which is heartening.

Shri Chandra Shekharji has given a moving account of the feelings experienced by him in his life in the last pages of his autobiography. Shri Chandra Shekharji started research work under Acharya Narendra Deva at Kashi Hindu Vishwavidyalaya after completing M.A. in Political Science from Allahabad University but jumped into politics of socialism to serve the country at the behest of Acharyaji. In his autobiography he had given brief account of this as how he loved his life.

Acharya Narendra Deva had said, "Shri Chandra Shekhar leave the research work, march towards building the nation". That one sentence changed the direction of life forever. I kept on going forward in search of goal with the desire of nation building in heart. I passed through many phases of life which were full of risks; many a time goal looked just within the reach but then again faced same conflict, same jealousy and anger. Making efforts to stay away from controversies resulted in life full of conflicts. I observed and understood the country quite closely. I got the opportunity to observe and examine the working of the people holding high posts. I got in touch with the people in the power. I experienced it personally too, even though it was for a short while when I came to understand the sentiments of the common man, my confidence in the capability of the country and power of its people increased. I made efforts personally to do whatever was possible. I warned the responsible people about the impending crisis well within time but the results were mostly opposite to the expectations. People often took my voice for a challenge and tried to oppose my words, but I always tried to forewarn them of the impending danger. Despite all the efforts our future looks gloomy at present but our countrymen have always showed their strength. They have shown foresight taken steps for making a bright future. Those remembrances give us strength. I had perhaps noted in my diary in the year 1955, "We could not live within the boundaries of a family, the traditional resources of love dried up and we kept on wandering in search of new fountains of love." Even today I feel the same. Alas! we could have done something to keep our family *i.e.* country intact.

Shri Chandra Shekharji continued to play his role in a politics of principles rather than politics of power. Therefore, he performed his political activities emulating and following the old saying — "Chaah gayi, chinta gayi, manma beparwah, jako kachhu na chahiya so shahan ko shah."

Shri Chandra Shekharji had friendly relations with my elder brother Shri Lalit Narayan Mishra and he was always eager to lend supporting hand to strengthen Shri Chandra Shekharji's 'Yuva Turk' campaign. The relation between these two grew stronger and stronger throughout their lives. This close relationship between the two has been referred to in the autobiography of Shri Chandra Shekharji titled 'Zindagi ka Karwan' where he has written "Shri Lalit Babu had an opportunity to meet J.P. in January, 1975. After returning from Samastipur he was supposed to meet J.P. but in Samastipur he was attacked and killed. Shri Lalit Babu's demise was very shocking for me. I can never forget that I could not visit his house in his lifetime in December 1974. Shri Lalit Babu died in mysterious circumstances".

I came into contact with Shri Chandra Shekharji in the Shimla Session of the Congress Party in October-November 1970. Shri Chandra Shekharji was a candidate in election for membership of the Central Election Committee. The senior leaders of the Congress Party were not in his favour. My elder brother Shri Lalit Babu secured support for him from Bihar. He was elected. Since then we came closer and he always treated me as his younger brother. He asked Shri Lalit Babu to nominate me as a candidate in the Bihar Legislative Assembly elections in 1972. At that time I was a member of Bihar Legislative Council. I had not completed my tenure. But Shri Chandra Shekharji approved my name from Jhanjharpur Constituency at his own level in the Central Election Committee. I was very much influenced personally by his views and conduct. Since then I continued to keep in touch with him and to discuss politics of Bihar with him. He always called me "Panditji" and addressed me as "Gor lagi Panditji". I told him not to say this as he was quite close but he always gave me respect as well as affection. When I was the Chief Minister of Bihar, he sometimes used to advise me in public interest as a guardian. I used to meet him often when I was Union Minister. After becoming Prime Minister he continued to shower his affection on me. He was attached with Bihar. He visited the whole of Bihar. He was influenced by J.P's views. So he did not agree with Indiraji's views in Congress Party. He was in touch with J.P. at that time. The Allahabad High Court in its decision declared election of Smt. Indiraji as illegal. After this judgement, he was of the view that Smt. Indiraji should have resigned from the post of Prime Minster. His differences with Indiraji grew wider and wider. He disagreed with the views of the Congress Party. He wanted J.P. and Indiraji to meet each other. He wanted solution of Gujarat and Bihar problems. He talked to Indiraji several times in this regard. Once there was a possibility, he wanted Shri Lalit Babu to act as a mediator but it could not be possible. Emergency was declared after the public meeting in Ramlila grounds on 25 June 1975. Several Congress leaders including Shri Chandra Shekharji were arrested. Had J.P. and Indiraji talked

to each other, perhaps, emergency would not have been declared and the crisis could have been avoided. But as the saying goes — "Man proposes, God disposes".

The memories of Shri Chandra Shekharji will continue to be a source of inspiration for the country.

CHANDRA SHEKHAR : PIONEER OF A NEW TREND[#]

*—Mastram Kapoor**

Acharya Hazari Prasad Dwivedi heralded a new era in Hindi Literature. Dr. Namwar Singh, a disciple of Acharya Dwivedi defined this trend and elaborated on how it marked a departure from the earlier one. There has been two trends in Indian Politics. One trend is to elect Prime Ministers from the elite class while the other one is to go for the ones representing the common man. Chandra Shekhar belonged to the second trend. It is a matter of chance that Acharya Dwivedi, Dr. Namwar Singh and Chandra Shekhar all were sons of the same soil. These three people belonged to Ballia, Uttar Pradesh which always kept the flame of revolution and change enkindled inside.

Given the popular adage, "morning shows the day", it is usually conceived of distinguished people that they show the signs of being endowed with seamless potentialities since their childhood. I don't have the slightest idea of Chandra Shekhar's childhood. Hence I find it difficult to assert whether this adage suits him. Even if it doesn't suit him, I will have no regrets whatsoever as I take him as an iconic figure who has undergone the travesty of escalating from scratch to the pinnacle. Such a person doesn't run after opportunities rather it goes the other way round. Self-confidence is an asset to those who start their journey from the scratch which instills in them an unwavering mettle even in the face of big challenges. Chandra Shekhar was the embodiment of this very self-confidence. Despite the stiff opposition from the most powerful leader like Indira Gandhi, contesting the election of Congress Working Committee and getting elected spoke volumes of his self-confidence. Even during emergency he waged his protest against Indira Gandhi and favoured Loknayak Jaya Prakash Narayan which led to his imprisonment.

He chose to be Janata Party President by renouncing a cabinet berth in the Government ruled by the Janata Party. All constituents of the Janata Party believed that he alone would be able to tackle the conflicts arising within the party. At a time when conflicts among various constituents of the Janata Party were in the rise, he was to a large extent successful in striking a balance among them as he was able to let even very senior

[#] Originally in Hindi.

* A Socialist Hindi writer.

leaders like Morarji Desai, Chaudhary Charan Singh and Atal Bihari Vajpayee stick to the partylines as far as possible. In the wake of the Janata Party going out of power and Indira Gandhi's coming to power again when there was disintegration in the Janata Party he infused new life into it by visiting every nook and corner of the country. Way back in 1989 when the situation warranted the formation of the Janata Dal Government he staked his claim as a leader contesting against V.P. Singh which amply proved his innate self-confidence. Whereas all intellectuals associated with media and the urban middle class disproportionately favoured V.P. Singh, Chandra Shekhar was of the conviction that it was neither proper nor justified to hand over the government to an amateur coming from the Congress Party by neglecting non-congress senior leaders. Who can challenge this logic of his? However the intellectuals were so much prejudiced against Chandra Shekhar that they didn't welcome this logic advanced by Chandra Shekhar even when he was ready to forfeit his claim in favour of Chaudhari Devi Lal. All this happened as Chandra Shekhar didn't belong to the elite tradition which the middle class as well as the intellectuals had been used to seeing. How the people considering the aristocrats and dynasty rules as natural claimant of power could appreciate Chandra Shekhar, who was characterised by a rural, coarse and rustic way of living? Chandra Shekhar never entered into the political tactics replete with malice and hypocrisy partly due to his rural background and partly due to his association with pre-eminent leaders like Acharya Narendra Dev, Jai Prakash Narayan, Ram Manohar Lohia. As a result he couldn't get at this scheming which was being resorted to by the veteran statesmen. All so called philanthropic leaders held a meeting under the chairmanship of Prof. Madhu Dandavate chose Devi Lal as the leader but subsequently he passed on this responsibility to V.P. Singh. This melodrama was dramatised just to sideline Chandra Shekhar and the middle class intellectuals showered their praise on him for this.

Chandra Shekhar put up with this ugly joke orchestrated by so called gentlemen and intellectuals with great patience. He neither lost his self-confidence nor did he take refuge in cheap politics. Within ten months down-the-line these so-called intellectuals fell prey to their own shrewdness. Nevertheless they didn't regret for their pretence and mischief. Those who had projected Devi Lal as a front-runner first evicted Devi Lal. Then came the turn of Ramkrishna Hegde, Arun Nehru and others.

At last Vishwanath Pratap Singh, keeping his own Chief Minister, Mulayam Singh in dark, was trying to remain in power by making clandestine deal with Sangh Parivar and when he did not get success in it, without facing No Confidence Motion in Lok Sabha, he resigned and thus became a hero for sacrificing his Government. Even at this stage, we found that Chandra Shekhar was greater than Vishwanath Pratap Singh. Chandra Shekhar did

not leave the party in spite of being neglected in the ten months' tenure of the Vishwanath Pratap Singh's Government for his dissent. After the resignation of Vishwanath Pratap Singh when Chandra Shekhar staked claim to form the Government, Vishwanath Pratap Singh and his colleague did not lend their support to him. However, BJP was ready to support in case of change of leadership. Chandra Shekhar remained in party under the leadership of Vishwanath Pratap Singh but Vishwanath Pratap Singh was not ready to remain in party under the leadership of Chandra Shekhar. Does the team disintegrate in case of change of Captain? His bitterness and aloofness was justified. He was bold enough to hold himself despite being neglected by the elite class and sycophants. It was possible because of his self-confidence.

When Chandra Shekhar became Prime Minister after collapse of Vishwanath Pratap Singh's Government in 1990, an editor of a newspaper wrote that Chandra Shekhar was the first Prime Minister, whom no newspaper welcomed on his becoming Prime Minister. In response to that I wrote an article in 'Nav Bharat Times' under the caption 'Chandra Shekhar kuchh kho nahi sakte'. What I wanted to say was that if a person begins with zero, he has nothing to lose, he only gains. In his almost eight month's regime, Chandra Shekhar had proved that he had been a good and successful Prime Minister for running the Government even in the fractured mandate without stooping to any pressure or blackmail. He neither tried to make clandestine deal with Sangh Parivar like Vishwanath Pratap Singh nor stooped to blackmail of the Cogress Party. The Congress Party had given written assurance to the President that it would support Chandra Shekhar's Government. But when it mounted pressure to withdraw the cases against Sanjay Gandhi or to hush up matter of Bofors case, he did not make any immoral deal as was done by Vishwanath Pratap Singh. However, Morarji Desai had also tried to make such deal and later Atal Bihari Vajpayee had also followed the same. Instead, he got the Lok Sabha dissolved.

Chandra Shekhar was Prime Minister for a short period of time. Half of this term, he had been in the acting capacity, even then his achievements were not ordinary one. He made the fury of Anti-Mandal Movement pacified which was posing threat to law and order as well as to the economy of the country. He had also pacified the Ram Mandir Movement launched by the Sangh Parivar and the state of frenzy emerged out of the movement. It was not an ordinary situation. These two movements had created the atmosphere of fear and violence in the entire country. An allegation was levelled against him at that time that he took loan from foreign countries by mortgaging the gold of the country. He took loan by mortgaging non-performing assets but his successive Governments of BJP and the Congress had not only taken loan by selling out performing assets but also sold the

soul of the country and country was overburdened with huge amount of debt that we pay half of the amount of national income as interest on those loans. He was instrumental in awarding Bharat Ratna to Sardar Patel which could not be done by the Congress Government during its forty years regime. When the Congress Party asked Chandra Shekhar to bring a proposal to award Bharat Ratna to Rajiv Gandhi through President Venkatraman, he put a condition that name of Rajiv Gandhi would be considered only when a proposal with regard to Sardar Patel is accepted. The Congress Government had grossly neglected Sardar Patel. However, this award had already been given to other leaders of lesser stature. Venkatraman adopted a policy of dilly-dallying but at last he had to accept the proposal of Chandra Shekharji. However, Shri Venkatraman was absent in the ceremony where Sardar Patel was awarded Bharat Ratna. Chandra Shekhar will always be remembered for taking initiative to award Bharat Ratna to Sardar Patel.

Being attached with the stream of socialism, Chandra Shekhar had also cherished some dreams. He wanted to set up some foundations to preserve socialist heritage. He had set up Narendra Niketan to keep the legacy of Acharya Narendra Deva and Nehru Museum was entrusted with the work of editing and publishing all his literary works. Similarly, Nehru Museum was also entrusted with the work to bring out a comprehensive publication on the articles of Lok Nayak Jaya Prakash and in this way he democratized that institution. Prejudiced journalists and intellectuals tried to cast a slur on him with regard to his Bhuvaneshwari Ashram but he wanted to develop this Ashram as a Centre of thought and a Centre of studies for socialism. Panchayat had allotted land to him for this purpose. Aspersions were cast on him continuously but no question was raised against the persons who grabbed the assets worth crores of rupees in form of temple — math and family trusts. When he had to vacate this land as per the order of the court, he surrendered the land in a verdant state compared to its earlier barren and deserted condition to the Government of Haryana without displaying any emotions and officers of Haryana Government occupied the said land shamefully.

Despite being extremely sensitive in human relations, he did not play the politics of being driven by emotions. His presence used to have alleviation effect in an agitated environment. Such a situation was witnessed at the time of Ram Mandir and Anti-Mandal agitations and was also witnessed in the Lok Sabha many times. Possibly, this political maturity was the reason why veteran leaders such as Atal Bihari Vajpayee considered him to be his Guru although Chandra Shekhar was younger to him.

When Chandra Shekhar became the Prime Minister all those who had become slaves of English language and aristocracy were displeased especially those who had started to consider themselves a part of that aristocracy and

the Congress party was most upset. May be it was so because Chandra Shekhar performed such deeds which threatened to weaken the hold of Nehru-Gandhi clan on the nation *i.e.* democratization of trusts formed in the name of persons belonging to that clan, etc. The Congress Party wanted to get rid of the Government of Chandra Shekhar as soon as possible. It was not mindful of giving written support to the President. Such support was extended by the Congress to Choudhary Charan Singh also and then it withdrew without any reason. President Venkatraman had criticized the Congress in his book for the same. In spite of this he chalked out a plan to please the Congress. He put forth a suggestion to form a National Government before Atal Bihari Vajpayee. When Vajpayee asked if he would become Prime Minister then he suggested the name of the Vice-President Shankar Dayal Sharma. But when Shri Shankar Dayal Sharma was asked the same then he refused to become the Prime Minister because his eyes were set on the post of President whereas Venkatraman was eager for another term as President. Earlier, President Zail Singh also put forth the proposal of forming a National Government after removing Rajiv Gandhi whereas Venkatraman who was Vice-President at that time, was offered the post of Prime Minister. Venkatraman had then rejected the proposal because at that time his eyes were set on the post of the President while Zail Singh was looking forward to another term. A master of politics with this vast experience understood the tricks of these shrewd politicians. He used to cite his favourite word *'Chirkut'* for all such persons and those intellectuals who advocated their cause, and he used this word as an unfailing weapon.

Chandra Shekhar did not inherit a rich and influential family. He started his career from the scratch and reached the top. He was not an evergreen tree. He was such a tree that shed its leaves smoothly and prepared itself for new leaves and new leaflets, therefore, he remained an inexhaustible source of possibilities. He will always be remembered for deep human relations amongst his friends and those known to him. He used to take care of the needs of his support staff. He will also be remembered for another thing. After becoming the Prime Minister, he did not wear coat-pant or Achkan-Churidar of the British and Mughal period and did not try to hide Indianness and rusticity. As far as history is concerned he will be remembered as a leader of indigenous tradition of Indian Politics.

CHANDRA SHEKHAR : AS I KNEW HIM

*—Balraj Puri**

Chandra Shekhar was a friend of mine, even before he became a member of Parliament, I often used to join the troika of the three angry men of Parliament—Krishan Kant, Mohan Dharia and Chandra Shekhar—after question hour over a cup of coffee.

I cannot recall all my reminiscences with him, nor all these would be of interest to the readers of this Monograph. A few reminiscences would suffice.

Once Ram Chander Vikal, the veteran Gujjar leader and a senior MP from Uttar Pradesh, dropped in my room in Kashmir House where I was staying. He reminded me that I had taken up the cause of granting Scheduled Tribe status to the Gujjar of Jammu and Kashmir with Indira Gandhi, when she was the Prime Minister. She had agreed to do so but somehow could not implement her commitment. He asked me to take up the matter with Chandra Shekhar who had become the Prime Minister. I agreed to go to him immediately.

After reaching his official residence, without prior notice, I sent a chit to him. He immediately came out and asked the purpose of my visit. I told him about the commitment of Indira Gandhi which was delayed or sabotaged by the bureaucrats. I also briefly explained the importance of the matter in the context of situation in Jammu and Kashmir State. He said "when Chandra Shekhar is convinced about my thing none can sabotage it". Thus the matter was discussed and settled within a few minutes and in due course was implemented.

On another occasion, I received a telephone call in Jammu soon after a successful tour to Punjab where Sikh militancy was at its peak and I had met its leaders as well as leaders of the Hindu community. He asked me to reach Delhi the same day as he wanted to discuss the situation in Punjab with me. I excused myself for a day and reached Delhi the next day where arrangement for my stay had been arranged.

He called me at 10 PM after finishing all his official engagements so that "we could talk without any interruption". He asked me how could I win the confidence of both the communities in Punjab that nobody else could

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do and what was the way out. I explained my approach to the problem and told him the concrete commitment I had received from the leaders of the militants whom I had met in their underground fortress. I was told by them that they might not follow my highly sophisticated and intellectual statement but were convinced that I was the best friend of the Sikhs. After a long discussion they agreed not to kill any uninvolved and innocent Hindu, in particular Hindu child, woman and old person. I suggested to Chandra Shekhar that as a first step the Government, too, should reciprocate this gesture and hold enquiry into killing of an uninvolved and innocent Sikh. By midnight we agreed on the broad approach to the Punjab problem. Thus a basis of solution to the problem was laid.

He asked for another meeting for evolving a similar, approach to Kashmir problem. I suggested that a meeting of all Kashmiri leaders who were in town be called the next day. He got a list of them from me and called them over dinner cancelling all his appointments. I initiated the discussion and sketched my broad approach. After listening to other participants, we agreed on first initial step.

The concrete facts mentioned above clearly indicate that Chandra Shekhar was a man of action. Once he agreed on anything, he was sure to implement it. I knew all the members of his Government. Though they were not high profile leaders, they were equally persons of action.

Chandra Shekhar's effective interventions in Parliament had already made a mark and are widely remembered.

Unfortunately he did not live long. His early death cut his promising career as a national leader and as a Parliamentarian.

CHANDRA SHEKHAR AS A PARLIAMENTARIAN

*—Harihar Swarup**

Former Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar was for the first time elected to the Rajya Sabha in 1962 as a Praja Socialist Party (PSP) candidate and he sat in the opposition benches. His first act as an MP was to confront Jawaharlal Nehru, who was then the Prime Minister. A commission of Enquiry was constituted to probe into charges made against the then Punjab Chief Minister Pratap Singh Kairon. Chandra Shekhar asked the Prime Minister if Government has received the report of the Commission. Nehru replied he has not seen the report. Chandra Shekhar resumed his seat but raised the issue next day, pointing out that some newspapers had carried excerpts of the report. The Prime Minister accepted that his memory had slipped and that the report had been received. "I am sorry", he told Chandra Shekhar.

Panditji was impressed at the way Chandra Shekhar persisted with his query. He later asked Dinesh Singh—"who is that bearded young man"?

Dinesh Singh told him, "he is a PSP member from Uttar Pradesh and has just been elected to the Rajya Sabha".

Dinesh Singh advised Chandra Shekhar the next day to meet Panditji. The young generation met the old generation and thus began Chandra Shekhar's long career in Parliament, spanning nearly half a century. He remained a member of the Rajya Sabha for three terms — from 1962 to 1977. He was elected to the Lok Sabha for eight terms. He was a member of 6th and 7th Lok Sabha and from 9th to 14th Lok Sabha. He lost election only once—in 1984—when Rajiv Gandhi romped home with largest-ever majority. He was honoured with outstanding Parliamentarian Award in the year 1995.

Chandra Shekhar was indeed an outstanding parliamentarian. Whenever he spoke or intervened on controversial matters, the whole House heard him with rapt attention and Government paid heed to his opinion. He spoke, extempore with conviction, and never looked at notes. He never read a speech in Parliament even when he was the Prime Minister. His speech in the Lok Sabha before driving to the Rashtrapati Bhavan and tendering his resignation as the Prime Minister was one of the best.

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There were moments of humour in the Lok Sabha. Chandra Shekhar would always call Atal Bihari Vajpayee "Gurudev". On his part Vajpayeeji would address him as "Guru Ghantal". When P.V. Narasimha Rao was the Prime Minister, he would generally avoid speaking on controversial matter and kept quiet even after being provoked by opposition members. Chandra Shekhar noticed for days how Rao ducked contentious issue and, one day, amidst peals of laughter, called him—*Mauni Baba* (silent saint).

When the PSP split in 1964, Chandra Shekhar joined the Congress. He was elected Secretary of the Congress Party in Parliament in 1967. Firmly in Indira Gandhi's camp before the 1969 Congress split, he was elected to the Congress Working Committee and powerful Central Election Committee of the party. Chandra Shekhar, along with other young MPs—Krishan Kant, Mohan Dharia, Ram Dhan—always attacked the pro-right lobby in the Congress and Morarji Desai, who was then the Deputy Prime Minister. The young MPs came to be known as "Young Turks".

According to the biography on Indira Gandhi, written by veteran journalist Inder Malhotra: "The Desai camp was incensed by the charges of corruption levelled on the floor of Parliament by most prominent Young Turk, Chandra Shekhar against Morarji's son, Kanti Desai, which also impinged on the Deputy Prime Minister's own integrity. The Congress Parliamentary Party authorised Indira Gandhi to censure him. She conspicuously refrained from doing so. Desai and his friends were furious. Incidentally six years later Mrs. Gandhi had to imprison Chandra Shekhar and later he had to head the Janata Party that was first to defeat her at polls and then put her in jail".

Chandra Shekhar was Mrs. Gandhi's confidante and an elected member of the CWC at the time of 1969 Congress split. She asked Chandra Shekhar to give a note on economic policies to be pursued by the party. He called a meeting of top, left oriented economists and suggested that they should prepare a note as desired by Mrs. Gandhi. The meeting went on well past mid-night and the note was ready. Mrs. Gandhi read it out at the Bangalore session of the AICC which later came to be known as her nine or 10 point programme. It was quite popular.

The post of the Prime Minister which Chandra Shekhar thought he genuinely deserved, eluded him in 1989. Chandra Shekhar felt he had greater legitimacy to head the Janata Dal Parliamentary Party than V.P. Singh. Not only was he the senior politician who had been an MP long before V.P. Singh entered Uttar Pradesh politics — but he was also a card-carrying member of the Janata ethos, having been president of the Janata Party when it was founded in 1977.

He might have believed that he had the support of the majority in the Janata Dal Parliamentary Party. But Arun Nehru, who had left the Congress party along with V.P. Singh in 1988, allied with Devi Lal and ensured that

when the time came to nominate a leader, they would quickly endorse V.P. Singh, giving Chandra Shekhar no opportunity to manoeuvre things his way. Angered by the way he had been shunted out of the prime ministerial race, Chandra Shekhar stormed out of the meeting.

Chandra Shekhar always held a grouse that V.P. Singh and Devi Lal entered into a pact to deprive him of the Prime Ministership and used it against V.P. Singh at the height of the post Mandal agitation to break the party and bring down his Government in 1990.

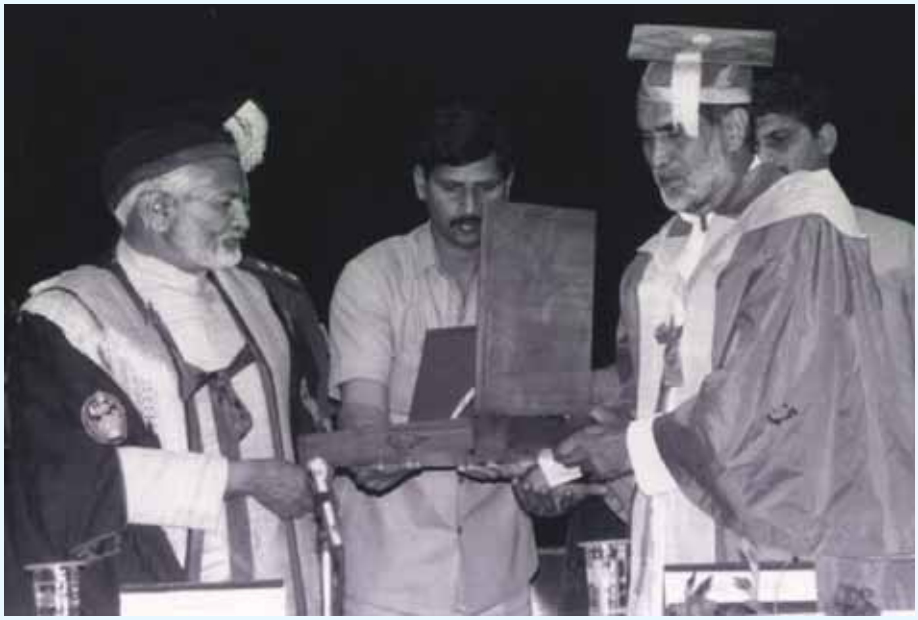
Chandra Shekhar wrote a book—Meri Jail Diary—when he was imprisoned by Mrs. Gandhi. In the later part of his life, he would sit in the Central Hall of Parliament—flanked mostly by journalists—and narrate stories of his time in politics. Despite estrange relations with Mrs. Gandhi, Chandra Shekhar was all praise for her leadership. He also held Morarji Bhai in high esteem for steadfastly adhering to his principles even though he might lose a political battle.

Chandra Shekhar lived at his official residence at 3, Teen Murti Lane and did not shift to 7, Race Course Road when he became the Prime Minister. At 3, Teen Murti Lane bungalow, he had built a small "Kutia" (thatched hut) where he used to sit and receive visitors.

Chandra Shekhar undertook a Padyatra through the country from Kanyakumari in the deep South to Rajghat (Samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi) in New Delhi covering a distance of nearly 4260 kms. from January 6, 1983 to June 25, 1983. The Padyatra was undertaken to renew rapport with the masses and to understand their pressing problems. Chandra Shekhar's Bharat Yatra, from Kanyakumari to Delhi in 1983, highlighted the problems of rural India. He established about fifteen Bharat Yatra Centres in various parts of the country in memory of that including in Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh and Haryana to train social and political workers for mass education and grassroot work in backward pockets of the country.

Chandra Shekhar died on July 8, 2007 after a prolonged illness. He was 80. He was suffering from multiple myloma (blood cancer).

Being Conferred with the Outstanding Parliamentarian Award,
New Delhi, 12 December 1995



Being Conferred Honorary Degree, Doctor of Science, Haryana University by
Shri Dhanik Lal Mandal, the Chancellor, Hissar, 26 March 1991

CHANDRA SHEKHAR : A MAN OF DESTINY

*—Dr. Janak Raj Jai**

Destiny does play a significant role in every one's life. A village boy of Ibrahimpatti (Ballia District) in Uttar Pradesh, Chandra Shekhar was no exception. Having been in the corridors of power (had been closely associated with Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi and V.P. Singh) for about one decade or so, I had been fortunate enough to personally observe the activities of this great son of the soil.

The son of a farmer from middle class family, Chandra Shekhar was born on July 1, 1927. Sadanand Singh, father of Chandra Shekhar had only 10-12 acres of land which was hardly adequate for a joint family to make both ends meet. Under these circumstances, Chandra Shekhar was born and brought up.

Ballia is a very well known district of Uttar Pradesh in the political history of the country. During Quit India Movement in 1942 the tricolour was first of all hoisted at the residence of the then District Magistrate of Ballia. It is just a matter of coincidence that Lok Nayak Jaya Prakash Narayan also belonged to the same district. Jaya Prakash Narayan was of course much older than Chandra Shekhar.

Right from school days till graduation Chandra Shekhar faced great obstructions and hardships. But he doggedly pursued his studies with strong determination. He had to walk about 12 Km. from his village to reach school for studies upto middle school. Though his father was not inclined for his further studies, his mother kept on encouraging him to pursue his studies under all odds.

Role of destiny

Chandra Shekhar was the first person from his village who had passed the Matriculation examination. After he passed his Matriculation examination, his father asked him to seek for a job of a clerk. But destiny had something much higher in store for Chandra Shekhar.

After doing M.A. in Political Science, he registered himself as a Ph.D. Scholar under Professor Mukut Behari Lal at Benaras Hindu University. But, under the advice and influence of Acharya Narendra Deva, he plunged into politics and took up the work of the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh.

* He is an Advocate, Supreme Court of India.

As destiny so wished him to the highest office of the Prime Minister he started political activities under the leadership of Acharya Narendra Deva and Lok Nayak Jaya Prakash Narayan.

Enters National Politics

At the age of 30, *i.e.,* in the year 1957, Chandra Shekhar made an attempt to enter national politics, contested election to the Lok Sabha from Ghazipur, Ballia Constituency, but lost by a small margin. But he successfully entered Rajya Sabha in the year 1962 on the Praja Socialist Party Ticket.

In the year 1955 Chandra Shekhar enrolled himself as member of the Congress Party in Bombay. Very soon Chandra Shekhar shot into prominence. After that he joined hands with Krishan Kant and Mohan Dharia. Ram Dhan was another member of this group, which was known as "Ginger Group", popularly known as Young Turks. All these Young Turks and Asoka Mehta stood by Indira Gandhi for the office of the Prime Ministership after the unfortunate death of Lal Bahadur Shastri in Moscow in the year 1966.

I had the good fortune of having watched and observed all the stages of the activities of Chandra Shekhar till he adorned the office of the Prime Minister. I had joined the first Prime Minister's Office in 1956 and had been closely associated with Indira Gandhi for a number of years.

The Young Turk came to the rescue of Indira Gandhi when she had to face a serious confrontation with the old bosses known as 'Syndicate'. In the year 1969, there was a conflict in the Congress Party, as the strong leadership in the Congress Party known as syndicate had open confrontation with Indira Gandhi and her supporters.

Indira Gandhi had to face a split in the Congress. The Young Turks backed and supported Indira Gandhi who ultimately triumphed over the old guards. Chandra Shekhar wholeheartedly supported Indira Gandhi. The Young Turks also backed the three historic measures of Indira Gandhi—her Ten Point Economic Programme, Abolition of Privy Purses and Privileges of Princes as also the Nationalisation of 14 Banks.

Difference with Indira Gandhi

Later on Chandra Shekhar developed some differences with Indira Gandhi on certain vital issues. That was the start of the gulf between him and Indira Gandhi. He gave full support to anti-corruption movement in the year 1974. Ram Dhan a member of the Ginger Group, a member of the Congress Parliamentary Party also earned the displeasure of Indira Gandhi. Chandra Shekhar had started expressing his views frankly in his journal

"Young Indian". It was at that time that he came close to Jaya Prakash Narayan. He then supported wholeheartedly the JP Movement for Total Revolution.

Opposed Emergency

Chandra Shekhar opposed Emergency tooth and nail under the leadership of Lok Nayak Jaya Prakash Narayan. He had to close down his journal during Emergency. In spite of the fact that he was a member of Working Committee of All India Congress Committee (Indira) and also of Central Election Committee, he had been detained under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA) by Indira Gandhi. In fact, lakhs of people including prominent leaders of the Congress Party had been detained during Emergency. Incidently, I was also one of the persons who had been detained for 19 months for opposing Emergency. Chandra Shekhar was detained in Patiala Jail and was put in solitary confinement.

Non-Congress Government Came to Power

After the emergency was revoked, Indira Gandhi declared Elections to the Lok Sabha in the country. The Congress Party headed by Indira Gandhi had faced a crushing defeat and for the first time a Non-Congress Government came to power. While the Cabinet was to be formed, Jaya Prakash from the core of his heart wanted Chandra Shekhar to be the Prime Minister. But he could visualize that leaders like Morarji Desai, Charan Singh and Jagjivan Ram would not allow this to happen. Thus he dropped the idea. With the efforts and persuasion by Jaya Prakash Narayan, Morarji Desai became the Prime Minister, and Chandra Shekhar was appointed as the President of the Janata Party.

JP's forecast

Chandra Shekhar was the darling of JP and he made a forecast at his future prospects in the affairs of the country. To quote J.P.:

> "There are few persons in Indian Politics like Chandra Shekhar who has maintained such high integrity of character, sincerity of purpose and devotion to the Nation. Personally I have no doubt that he is a man of destiny and will become one of the makers of new India."

Chandra Shekhar was no doubt a fearless leader and was known for his upright, bold and outspoken views. It was Chandra Shekhar who had the guts to become a formidable critic of the Birla Empires. In the year 1967, if I remember correctly, Chandra Shekhar brought as many as 88 cases against the Birla Group of Industries in his three memoranda submitted to the then Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

My tiff with Chandra Shekhar

For some time I had been assisting Dr. Sarojini Mahishi, then Dy. Minister attached to the Prime Minister. She was residing at 3, Safdarjung Road. Chandra Shekhar had been very close to Dr. Sarojini Mahishi. One day when I was sitting in the office room at the residence of Dr. Mahishi, Chandra Shekhar came to see Dr. Mahishi. There was no fixed appointment. He tried to go straight to the drawing room. I immediately came out of the room and tried to persuade him to wait in office room, so that I could inform Dr. Mahishi, But he brushed me aside and went straight to Dr. Mahishi's room without any obstruction. This was the first time when I had tasted a bit of confrontation with this fire brand leader.

Bharat Padyatra

When the country was passing through difficult times Chandra Shekhar decided to undertake Bharat Yatra to have direct contact with the people. It was 4260 Km. *yatra* starting from Kanyakumari to Rajghat, Delhi. The yatra commenced from 6 January and ended on 25 June 1983.

Chandra Shekhar wanted to undertake another *yatra*, but Morarji Desai discouraged it as he said that unless we account for each and every penny spent on the earlier yatra it would not be desirable to collect more money for a similar purpose. So that Yatra did not take place.

Immediately after the assassination of Indira Gandhi on 31 October 1984, Rajiv Gandhi was made the Prime Minister by Giani Zail Singh in violation of all norms, connectoin and traditions maintained by earlier Presidents.

Chandra Shekhar did not accept the Leadership of V.P. Singh

In the Ninth Lok Sabha Elections held in November, 1989 no single party could secure majority. Chandra Shekhar successfully contested from two constituencies—Ballia and Maharajganj. V.P. Singh was allowed to form the Government with the support of Left Parties and the BJP. The way V.P. Singh was made the Prime Minister, left a bitter taste in everyone's mouth. The Janata Dal's Parliamentary Party was held to elect the leader in December, 1989. Chandra Shekhar was deadly against V.P. Singh's leadership. Thus, it was given to understand that Devi Lal would be elected as the leader. But Devi Lal (the Tau) and V.P. Singh sidelined and humiliated Chandra Shekhar in a cunning manner and a mean drama was played in the election of the leader. When Devi Lal's name was proposed by Chandra Shekhar for the leader of the party in Parliament, he passed on the mantle to V.P. Singh. The seeds of discord, hatred and suspicion were sown on that very day. Chandra Shekhar after that day naturally behaved like a wounded tiger. He refused to accept any position in the Government and chose to wait and watch. He was perhaps destined to reach the highest office of the Prime Minister after the unceremonious exit of V.P. Singh.

Chandra Shekhar took over as Prime Minister

After the fall of V.P. Singh's Government the Congress Party headed by Rajiv Gandhi decided not to put its claim. Rajiv Gandhi met the President, R. Venkataraman and told him that his party would support Chandra Shekhar from outside. According to the President, Rajiv Gandhi assured him that his party would support Chandra Shekhar for atleast one year and under no circumstances the support would be withdrawn earlier than one year.

Chandra Shekhar thus became the Prime Minister, replacing V.P. Singh who had to lay down his office after a short span of 11 months. Chandra Shekhar, a rare product of Uttar Pradesh, took over as the ninth Prime Minister on 10 November 1990. The simplest, but quite impressive swearing in ceremony was first ever held in the sprawling forecourt of Rashtrapati Bhawan.

Unfortunately, Rajiv Gandhi, much earlier than one year, decided to withdraw the support of his party. President, R. Venkatraman got very much disappointed when he came to know that in spite of written assurance that he would not withdraw the support of his party earlier than one year Rajiv Gandhi chose to bring the end of Chandra Shekhar Government in about four months on flimsy grounds.

Within ten weeks of Chandra Shekhar assuming the office of the Prime Minster there were reports that differences had cropped up between Rajiv Gandhi and Chandra Shekhar, and there were moves by Rajiv Gandhi to dislodge the Prime Minister, Chandra Shekhar.

In the meantime the Rajiv Gandhi's camp had been planning to directly come into power with Rajiv Gandhi as the Prime Minister replacing Chandra Shekhar, With this planning in mind Rajiv Gandhi met the President.

President's dilemma

The President was facing a very grim and dangerous situation. The politicians failed him. Rajiv Gandhi did not keep his words. The legal opinion sought by the President could not be worked out. The power hungry politicians including Rajiv Gandhi were trying to pressurise the President, taking full advantage of the helplessness of the President not to dissolve the Lok Sabha with a suggestion to explore formation of an alternative coalition Government. This was no doubt a great challenge for the President who virtually became friendless as far as the politicians of our country were concerned. The only hidden power that could help the President was a divine power, and it did come to his rescue.

"Unable to get an alternative I pondered over the various possibilities. Why not dissolve the Lok Sabha and enact a vote on account through an ordinance and create a precedent in the constitutional history of India,

I thought. Then I brushed aside the unworthy thought and said to myself that I should not be guilty of creating a dangerous precedent. I was determined not to issue an ordinance in respect of financial and budgetary matters.....The dark and menacing cloud over the political horizon slowly lifted on March, 11, with the Lok Sabha adopting all financial business...."

Chandra Shekhar's Resignation

On 6 March 1991 the Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar and council of Ministers tendered resignation and wanted to seek a fresh mandate from the people. The President accepted the resignation and requested the Council of Ministers to continue in office till alternative arrangements are made.

As necessary budgetary and other legislative measures had been passed by both the houses of Parliament, and as the Union Council of Ministers headed by Chandra Shekhar had already resigned and recommended for a fresh poll as no political party had staked a claim to form an alternative Government, the President dissolved the Lok Sabha with immediate effect.

Thus, came to end the trauma, chaos and confusion created by the political acrobats of the leaders playing dirty games for vested interests. Ultimately, the President successfully handled the whole situation in the best possible manner with patience, wisdom and statesmanship, in the face of bouquets and brickbats from different quarters. I must say that all through this traumatic drama, Chandra Shekhar did not create any problem for the President, or the country, and tried to cooperate in whatever way it was humanly possible for him to do so.

A word of praise by the President

President felt very sorry when Chandra Shekhar tendered his resignation. In his own words: "I did not accept his resignation without feeling sorry for Chandra Shekhar. During his few months in office, he had handled Parliament competently and was responsive to suggestions from the Opposition. He was under constant strain from the pressures of the Congress party which, I am afraid assumed that it was the real Government and Chandra Shekhar only a proxy. The office-hungry coterie of the Congress party used to misguide Rajiv Gandhi that Chandra Shekhar's attempt at building up a good image could prove deleterious to his image. Looking back after two years, I realize my naiveness in accepting the Congress assurance of "unconditional support" to Chandra Shekhar. I had expected the support to last a year at least. I realized that unequal combinations are always disadvantageous to the weaker side."*

*(My Presidential years. R. Venkataraman) pp. 404-405

In the end I can only say that Chandra Shekhar did not desert his near and dear ones when he became Prime Minister; rather each one who was something for him was able to make his fortune when he was in power. Unfortunately, his term was cut short for vested interests. Such quality which we saw in Chandra Shekhar is rarely found in the present day leadership. About his performance as a Prime Minister the President has said enough, I had nothing more to add.

CHANDRA SHEKHAR : A COMMITTED SOCIALIST, SECULARIST AND DEMOCRAT

*—Satya Prakash Malaviya**

An outstanding socialist, parliamentarian, human being with an affectionate and caring nature Chandra Shekharji was really a unique personality of his times. He was in Rajya Sabha from 1962 to 1977 and in Lok Sabha from March, 1977 to 8th July, 2007, the day of his demise, except for a brief gap between 1984 to 1989. His extempore speech without the help of chits and his interventions in Parliament were a delight to listen to as he commanded everybody's respect.

A holder of Master's degree in Political Science (1951) from Allahabad University, he joined Banaras Hindu University in 1952 for research and to submit his thesis for Ph.D. which he could not complete on the insistence of his mentor Acharya Narendra Deva. In his own words, Acharyaji told him, "Chandra Shekhar, if the country does not exist, who will read your thesis, do something to build the nation, quit the university". His intimate associations with Acharya Narendra Deva, Prof. Mukut Behari Lal, Acharya Birbal and later with Jaya Prakash Narayan were extraordinarily rewarding in shaping his multi-faceted personality.

Following Mahatma Gandhi and Acharya Vinoba Bhave, he, as President of Janata party, undertook a *padyatra* called Bharat yatra from January 6, 1983 to June 25, 1983 from Kanyakumari (Tamil Nadu) to Rajghat (Delhi) covering a distance of 4260 kms. to acquire a glimpse of India which lives in villages and then to help solve the hardships faced by millions. It is another matter that the challenges of poverty, hunger, potable water supply, illiteracy, unemployment, health and regional backwardness remains unsolved, a fact which he always raised.

He rarely ignored an invitation, always took care of his colleagues, political associates and came in aid when they were in distress. In the morning, he could be seen visiting someone known to him who was ailing in the hospital, in the afternoon he could be seen as a mourner at the burial or cremation ground and in the evening he could be seen joining a reception or a function. He never permitted political differences to crop in between personal relations. He always kept friendship above politics. Leaders of different political parties looked to him for guidance and advice.

* Former Vice-Chairman, Rajya Sabha and Union Cabinet Minister.

Chandra Shekharji was in the Socialist party and the Praja Socialist party for 13 years from 1952 to 1965 and joined Congress in 1965. In 1974-75 as a Congress man he pleaded that Indira Gandhi should hold a dialogue with Jaya Prakash Narayan for conciliation instead of confrontation. He invited some MPs and political leaders to his 3, South Avenue lane residence in New Delhi to meet J.P., where I was also present, and thus earned the wrath of Smt. Gandhi. On the midnight of 25th/26th June, 1975, when emergency was clamped and J.P. was detained at Parliament Street police station, he had gone to meet him there and was arrested. He was then a prominent Congress M.P. and was a Member of the Congress Working Committee and its Central Election Committee. He did not quit Congress on his own, he did not desert Congress, and it was Congress that deserted him. Once out of Congress, he never rejoined it.

He had a clear perception of political issues and national problems. He was always outspoken, forthright and frank often to the extent of being misunderstood. He never compromised with his convictions. He went against the then prevailing public opinion in the country and exhibited exemplary courage in criticising the operation Blue Star in June, 1984.

Chandra Shekharji took the oath of office of Prime Minister on 10 November 1990 as Shri V.P. Singh, Prime Minister, resigned from office. R. Venkatraman, the President who administered the oath of office of Prime Minister to Chandra Shekhar has written that "When I probed the nature of the support and the minimum period it would last, Rajiv Gandhi told me that his support to Chandra Shekhar was neither temporary nor conditional. I asked Rajiv Gandhi if this support would continue at least for one year, he replied, "Why one year? It may extend to the life of Parliament'. Rajiv Gandhi gave in writing that Congress party had offered 'Unconditional Support' to the group headed by Chandra Shekhar".*

Shri R. Venkatraman, in his memoirs 'My Presidential Years' has written, "Personally I have a high regard for Chandra Shekhar for his rational views, progressive approach to the nation's problem and his integrity. During his few months in office, Chandra Shekhar had handled Parliament competently and was responsive to suggestions from the Opposition. He was under constant strain from the pressures of the Congress Party, which I am afraid, assumed that it was the real Government and Chandra Shekhar only a proxy. The office-hungry coterie of the Congress party used to misguide Rajiv Gandhi that Chandra Shekhar's attempt at building up a good image could prove deleterious to his image". He also wrote once, "Had Chandra Shekhar commanded a majority in the House, he would have been ranked among the great Prime Ministers of India".

I deem it a rare honour to have worked with Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar as his Cabinet colleague. After he had become the Prime Minister on 10 November 1990, I never met him or called on him even once. It was therefore, a pleasant surprise for me when on the morning of 21 November, I received a telephone call from him directly that, "*Mai Chandra Shekhar bol raha hoon*. You have to take oath as a Cabinet Minister today in the Rashtrapati Bhawan. Cabinet Secretary Naresh Chandra is sending the invitation to you". It was an unexpected honour for me to be invited by Chandra Shekharji to join his Cabinet. He never interferred in the working of any Minister and considered himself only to be first amongst equals. This was so gracious of him. As Prime Minister, he always stuck to his *Kurta, Dhoti, Jacket, Shawl and Chappal*. He never compromised the dignity and honour of high office of the country's Prime Minister for sticking to power. At a stage when an attempt was made to intimidate him and subject him to pressures, he voluntarily stepped down from Prime Ministership.

Besides holding the portfolios of Petroleum, Natural Gas and Chemicals, I was solely holding the Charge of Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs and in that capacity I also-functioned as Chief Whip of the ruling Janata Dal(S) Parliamentary Party. During the sittings of both Houses of Parliament, I had made it a regular practice to meet the PM daily in his Chamber in the Parliament House much before the commencement of the sittings from 11.00 a.m. It was on 6 March 1991 that as usual I went to meet the PM in his Chamber a little before 10.30 a.m. He had just returned after calling on the President and was alone. He informed me that he told the President, "If the Congress party continued its boycott of the Lok Sabha, he would request the Speaker to adjourn the House to enable him to meet the President to tender resignation of his Council of Ministers". He wanted my reaction and I replied, "As the situation warrants, there is no way out but to submit the resignation. It was no use running a Government by conceding unreasonable demands of Rajiv Gandhi because there is going to be no end to his demands". PM nodded his head agreeing with me. As we were engrossed in conversation Chaudhary Devi Lal, Yashwant Sinha and Kamal Morarka entered into the Chamber and joined in the conversation. They concurred with Prime Minister's decision. In the meantime Dr. Subramaniam Swamy rushed in breathlessly from the Parliament office of Rajiv Gandhi and said that he has discussed the issue with Rajiv, he has reconciled and was prepared to reverse the decision of boycott of the sittings of the Lok Sabha by the Congress party. Dr. Swamy further said that Rajiv wanted to talk to the PM and hurriedly connected the telephone line of Rajiv. I do not know what transpired but this was clear that Chandra Shekharji was firm and adamant on his decision to quit. At 2.45 p.m., PM after requesting the Speaker to adjourn the House and after holding the cabinet meeting, submitted his resignation to the President. His decision to resign was unilateral.

I also wish to disclose a startling fact that the appointment of Shri T.N. Seshan as Chief Election Commissioner was Chandra Shekhar's decision. The book Seshan 'An Intimate Story' by K. Govindan Kutty makes it clear that Chandra Shekhar conveyed his offer to Seshan for appointment as Chief Election Commissioner through Law Minister Dr. Subramaniam Swamy and before accepting the offer Seshan consulted Rajiv. From the narration in the book one learns that till Seshan consulted him, Rajiv had not an inkling about Chandra Shekhar's offer to Seshan.

Chandra Shekharji while speaking in Lok Sabha on the motion of no-confidence December 17, 1992 against the Council of Ministers headed by Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao after the demolition of Babri Masjid-Ram Janma Bhoomi structure on December 6, 1992, said thus, "It was not the Masjid that was demolished. In fact it was India's glorious traditions, India's history, India's tolerance and India's humanistic traditions that were thrown to the winds. Today, the hearts of crores of people have been broken which cannot be repaired. The faith of 15 crore Indian people has shattered. These 15 crore Indian Muslims did not come from Arab country or other foreign countries. They are our brothers. Would the Government suppress them or throw and drown them into the Arabian Sea? When it will be known to the world that a place of worship or whether it is not a place of worship, has been pulled down in this country for political reasons, nobody in the world would appreciate you and rather the world would condemn it because our civilisation and culture are a part of our glorious history which you have damaged". The former Young Turk and then an Angry Man—the Secular, Socialist was in full form and at his best.

Conferring the outstanding Parliamentarian Award on Chandra Shekhar on December 12, 1995, the President Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, rightly said in the Central Hall that, "Thoughts and ideas of Chandra Shekhar are always influenced by secularism, Sarva Dharma-Sambhav (equal respect for all faiths) and socialism".

His commitment to democracy, secularism and socialism have been amply demonstrated by his words and actions inside and outside Parliament. Chandra Shekharji will always remain an inspiration for the future generation of this great country and the countrymen will remember his unparalleled contribution to Parliamentary and public life.

BHISHMA PITAMAHA OF INDIAN POLITICS

*—Mahendra Ved**

He was easy to speak to, if there was something relevant and substantial to speak about. He was ready with an answer, provided the question was intelligent. What more could a media person ask for? He never chased media; the media chased him. He remained aloof even when courting journalists.

This was how I surmised Chandra Shekhar, having known him, from a distance though, over a long period. Long distance, because I somehow held him in awe. I was happy to sit around him at a gathering or in Parliament's Central Hall, keeping quiet most of the time.

To listen to his forthright views made one realize how different he was from the other run-of-the-mill elected representatives. He could be biting in his comments. But there was no malice. Even when he spoke of fellow-politicians with whom he did not agree, he did it with grace.

I was introduced to him in the office at the Theatre Communications Building, a complex in New Delhi's Connaught Place that no longer exists. He was sitting hunched on a chair, relaxed and without shoes. A tall man from Uttar Pradesh came inquiring. His relation had purchased a revolver abroad that had been confiscated by the Customs. "What do you want me to do? Let him pay the fine if he wants the weapon". The visitor demurred. He flared up: *"Aap ke liye pairvi karein, ya ghoos tay karayein?"* The visitor scooted. For someone from Mumbai to New Delhi and its political culture, this was different. He was a down to earth and a rustic politician who could talk with ease and without pretension on many subjects.

The "Young Turk" impressed me. I would write regularly for his "Young Indian" magazine, till it closed down when the Emergency was imposed. And I wrote again, when it was revived, years later.

Over the years, I discerned that he had no patience for the urban elite that seemed keen to appropriate everything on the strength of command over English language. As Janata Party President, he once told a gathering of Mumbai businessmen, asking the Morarji Desai Government to improve the country's economy: *"Aap hamein arthashastra ka paath padhayenge?"* The debate petered out thereafter.

* He is a writer and columnist.

Very fond of sitting among friends in the Central Hall of Parliament House and chatting over tea, Chandra Shekhar, nonetheless, respected Parliament and its working. He received a note from Chief Whip of parliamentary party, late Ratansinh Rajda, cautioning him about attending the House proceedings. A note from the party chief. Eyebrows were raised. But Chandra Shekhar took it seriously and was in the House regularly thereafter.

From the 1980s onwards, as I began to write more and more on political developments, there was, perhaps, no election or a major issue or development when I did not interview him. He moved from the Praja Socialist Party to the Congress Party and then, to the Janata Party and the Samajwadi Janata Party, but he remained the quintessential Congressman in his views and attitudes. For, he remained glued to the ideals of socialism and mixed economy when the clamour was for a capitalistic path. He was for a strong Centre in an era that favoured federalism and decentralization. But, when many a Congressman opted for a soft variety of Hindutva and many socialists crossed ideological lines in the name of democracy and opposition unity, Chandra Shekhar remained truly secular in his approach. Post-Babri Masjid demolition in Ayodhya, his voice became more strident, even if full of pain. He occupied the first row right in the centre of the Lok Sabha, playing the proverbial man in the centre. When he rose and spoke mincing no words, there was discernible appreciation on the faces of many on both sides. That was the respect he commanded. There would be pin drop silence in a raucous House with members engaged in name-calling. In that sense, he was the "Young Turk" who became 'Bhishma Pitamaha' of Parliament.

He was generous to his friends, whom he would not disown, even if they were on the wrong side of the law and out of the favour of powers that be. One such person was Suraj Dev Singh and the other, Kalpnath Rai. He visited them both in jail. To Chaudhary Randhir Singh, an old friend from his days in the Congress, he asked: What are you doing these days? Chaudhary Sahab was non-committal. "Why don't you become a State Governor? I can talk to Narasimha Rao". There were smiles and silence all around as some of us heard this friendly chat sitting in the Central Hall. Three days later came an official announcement that Chaudhary was appointed the Governor of Sikkim. It was an instant nugget for 'notebook', where such gestures are recorded.

Such was Chandra Shekhar's clout with people across the political spectrum. But he rarely sought things for himself. He chose not to be a minister in any Government. He was a rare example in a democracy to become the Prime Minister without ministerial record. The other man to do

so was Rajiv Gandhi, who inherited the position under grave circumstances after his mother Indira Gandhi's assassination. During a *tete a tete* in Central Hall, a journalist said something disparaging about a Member of Parliament who had declined Deputy Minister's post in the Government. He attributed some motives. "It is very difficult to give up a post. *Kisi bhi pad ko tyagna bahut kathin hota hai",* he said, without even appearing to chide the journalist friend. But the message was clear. There is no real count, nor will there be any, of how many times Chandra Shekhar had himself renounced office.

Not being either an insider or a beneficiary of his largesse — except his well reasoned words, each time I interviewed him or called on him — and out of the rat race the newsmen engage in, I felt inclined to attend his funeral. After the funeral, among the grim faces were those of Yashwant Sinha and Kamal Morarka who, joined public life because of Chandra Shekhar. I mumbled, and they agreed: "Now that he is gone, Parliament and the Central Hall will not be the same".

CHANDRA SHEKHAR : A VOICE OF SANITY

*—K.S. Sachidananda Murthy**

Chandra Shekhar was always the 'other voice' inside and outside Parliament, as he was only for a brief time at the core of governance or ruling combination during his long spell in politics. He was a man who took deep interest in national issues and was always concerned with the trends in Government, Parliament and the Indian society in general. From his Young Turk days in 1960s, to his solitary perch as Prime Minister, Chandra Shekhar attracted politicians and ordinary citizens of different faiths, ideologies and persuasions. He never shirked from swimming against the current, even if the whole country appeared to be going in one direction.

Chandra Shekhar's was a voice of sanity during moment of collective frenzy in India. The Khalistan movement and the Government's strong response to it showed his patriotic mettle. He regularly cautioned the Government not to label the entire Sikh population as militant, and used to say that the security forces alone cannot solve a political problem. Chandra Shekhar raised his voice against the anti-Sikh violence, even though he knew it was not the popular stand to take in the aftermath of a Prime Minister's assassination. He lost the ensuing Lok Sabha election, as his opponents accused him of supporting militants and separatists. But, later the establishment veered to his view of isolating and weakening the separatists through political action. He kept telling political parties which had a soft corner for the separatists operating from places of worship in Punjab, that such soft attitude would debilitate these very parties. During his brief period as Prime Minister, the Ram Janmabhumi movement was at its zenith, and he tried his best for a political situation. He handled the post Rajiv Gandhi's assassination situation with firmness. He took the bold but controversial decision to pledge India's gold to the International Monetary Fund to overcome a payment crisis.

In 1980, when the Janata movement disintegrated and it appeared as if everything was over for national politics, Chandra Shekhar kept telling the small number of partymen that there was no end to alternatives in India, and one party rule was not possible. In late 1982, he announced a nationwide padyatra when his party was in doldrums and popular support

* Resident Editor, Malayala Monorama and The Week, former Chairman, Press Advisory Committee, Lok Sabha.

was less. But even as he embarked on the padyatra, news came that his party had emerged the single largest party in Karnataka assembly elections, and he walked with fresh vigour. The padyatra attracted many youth who had taken part in the JP movement, and resulted in setting up of a string of Bharat Yatra Kendras across the country.

In his later years, he was the elder statesman who would intervene to cool nerves and voices in the Lok Sabha as the ruling party and opposition were at each other's throats. He had the privilege of being heard with silence, and his rich voice and sensible suggestions had a way of easing tempers. His ideology was socialism, but he tempered it to suit the Indian situation. He would have charming words to calm down both the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition, and A.B. Vajpayee, who donned these two mantles for a long time would chuckle that when Chandra Shekhar was in Parliament "even if we don't agree with you, we have to hear you first and once we hear you then you would influence subtle changes in our strategy."

Chandra Shekhar was against excessive privatisation and felt the state should never abdicate its responsibility towards the poor and disinherited. He had a socialist's skepticism for unbridled reforms, and repeatedly warned that crony capitalism was distorting the economic reforms ushered in during the 1990s. His speeches and interventions in Parliament reflected his deep concern for the well being of the nation, and also for respecting the plurality of India. He believed in grassroots democracy, even if it was noisier than a democracy controlled by the upper classes.

Chandra Shekhar was popular among young Parliamentarians, as he would spend quality time with new members, and put them at their ease. He would find out details about their political careers, their constituencies and when they spoke well in the House, he would pat them on their backs. He attracted a large number of intellectuals, who would brief him on varied subjects coming up in Parliament. When he spoke in Parliament, he not only spoke from his own conviction and experience, but he had well marshalled facts and statistics at his command.

In the Central Hall of Parliament, it was a regular sight to see him spending hours surrounded by ministers, MPs, ex MPs and senior journalists, and each one hearing him mixing serious thoughts with very interesting anecdotes from his long political career, and his association with stalwarts like Acharya Narendra Deva, J.B. Kripalani, Jayaprakash Narayan, Madhu Limaye, Indira Gandhi, V.V. Giri, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, A.B. Vajpayee, Karpoori Thakur, Morarji Desai, Charan Singh, Jagjivan Ram, Ramakrishna Hegde, Devi Lal to the present day leaders like Sharad Pawar, H.D. Deve Gowda, Mulayam Singh Yadav, Farooq Abdullah, Subramaniam Swamy, L.K. Advani

and Dr. Manmohan Singh. He was a part of India's march from Garibi Hatao to Emergency to return of Democracy, the economic reforms, to coalition politics. He was a participant, and yet a passionate observer. All of us are beneficiaries of his wisdom, vision and fantastic sense of humour and camaraderie.

CHANDRA SHEKHAR

*—Sharad Pawar**

The evolution of India as the world's largest democracy and expression of the sovereign will of its people through the institution of parliamentary system of governance has been nurtured, given direction and shaped by many great personalities and Chandra Shekhar occupies a prominent place amongst them. An astute politician, with unshakable faith in democracy and socialism, he championed the cause of the common man as his most sacred duty. To him politics was instrument of change and of emancipation for the poor and downtrodden. His early life experiences in rural Uttar Pradesh and his close association with great nationalists of India's freedom movement like Acharya Narendra Deva and Jaya Prakash Narayan left indelible mark and strengthened his resolve to work tirelessly for the upliftment of the socially and economically deprived sections of our society. Out of nearly five decades of public life, he spent over three decades in the Parliament of India. I recollect my close personal association with him which began in the 1970s and remained very warm till he breathed his last. Chandra Shekhar always stood by his friends with affection and never let any dispute or difference ever come in the way.

Chandra Shekhar's life is a shining example and will be a source of inspiration to the younger generation. A very humane and soft spoken person, he came to be regarded as a 'Young Turk' due to his forceful, courageous espousal of people's cause and fight against vested interests. He was one of the exceptional orators in our Parliament, who argued and debated with passion on a variety of issues. He cajoled his listeners on the path which would lead our country to fulfil the dreams and aspirations of our freedom fighters. His vision of India's progress was rooted in the upliftment of the poor, establishing a casteless social order in our country and in making democratic principles truly a way of life.

Chandra Shekhar occupied many positions in his political and public life but he never really hankered after them. His selflessness, commitment to ideals and high sense of duty towards the country and the people were always above these. Chandra Shekhar was also a profound thinker gifted in literary skills besides having an analytical mind. His editorial articles in 'Young Indian' and his books — 'Meri Jail Diary' and 'Dynamics of Social Change' provide an insight to his thinking.

* He is the former Chief Minister of Maharashtra, former Union Cabinet Minister and presently Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha).

Chandra Shekhar was a very gifted and intelligent person who could very quickly grasp the fundamentals and nuances of a variety of issues which came up for discussions in the House. Whenever he got up to put forth his views, he spoke with command over facts, figures and complete understanding of issues. He spoke with all the persuasive skills, which was so natural to him, but without any bias and always in the interest of the country and its people. Therefore, he was always listened to with rapt attention from all sections in the House. Although he never compromised on his principles, values and ideology, he nevertheless had an open mind and listened to his colleagues' point of view with all attention and tried to reach a level of accommodation which was in the best interest of the nation. He personified a unique blend of pragmatism and idealism.

One of his greatest qualities which was admired by one and all in the Parliament was his commitment to following the rules and procedures, upholding the dignity of the House and the Parliament. His exemplary conduct and manners and the way he carried himself, earned him great admiration and genuine respect of the people he came in contact with-in the Parliament and in public life. It was a befitting tribute to a great leader when he became the first to receive the 'Outstanding Parliamentarian' award in the year 1995. The citation beautifully encapsulates the quintessential greatness of the person. True to his nature, Chandra Shekhar accepted the Award with great sense of humility but spoke candidly about the state of our democratic institutions which are meant to be instruments of social and economic transformation and lead the country to occupy its pride of place in the comity of nations. As if forewarning us he said in his acceptance speech:

".....We have seen that on a number of occasions in the past our democracy had to face many a crisis but our people and Members of Parliament withstood the test and sorted out all the problems in a dignified way. Today a person like me finds himself alone in the corridors of Parliament and at times, I have a feeling of irritation to which, Honourable Speaker, Sir, you have also made a mention".....

.....Sir, it is not almost every day that history is knocking at our door? Is that door not going to be opened? Narrow-mindedness and communication gap have made the environs in Parliament stifling at times. Can't you all sit together and find a way out to make Parliament once again reflective of the People's aspirations."

Expressing his anguish he further elaborated:

".....In today's atmosphere, we may be having personal animosity and attachments and dissensions and controversy on the issues. But in

spite of all these differences, can we not give a new message of mutual love to this society and nation of ours by conducting ourselves accordingly? If we come forward to put in all our efforts to mitigate the sorrows and the sufferings of our rural masses and to take care of the state of helplessness and compulsions being faced by our people in general, then there is nothing that can stop India from regaining her position as a leader of the world".....

In my long association with Chandra Shekhar, I have had the privilege of listening to him on many occasions on numerous issues and subjects. I have felt in all such meetings his resolve to serve the cause of the people and country. This was also explicitly expressed by him when he accepted the Award in Parliament:

".....Here I can assure you that it has been my constant endeavour to preserve the legacy, tradition and culture and also the civilisation of this country that we have inherited from our forefathers".....

Needless to say my respect for him only increased with time. I have also had the privilege to host him (in my earlier constituency) in Baramati when he visited us many times. He had heard about the schemes and projects we had launched to benefit the farmers, strengthen the cooperatives and empower the womenfolk. During the visit, he met them all, not as a great leader to lecture them but as a friend keen to learn about their problems and aspirations. His words of advice were greatly appreciated and he charmed them with his simplicity and genuine warmth. I also visited Ballia with him and his home in Ibrahimpatti in U.P., where he was working very hard to set up a hospital for the rural poor.

Chandra Shekhar may be an enigma to some but he will always be remembered with great affection and respect by all.

A STAR IN THE SKY

*—Dr. (Ms) Sarojini Mahishi**

The entrance to the main gate of the Central Hall of Parliament House adorns the following verse in Sanskrit:

अयं निजः परो वा इति गणना लघुचेतसां।
उदार चरितानां तु वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्॥

".....The generous-hearted people consider the whole universe as a family" is the gist of this verse. Shri Chandra Shekharji would probably not have read this verse but he did live the same way throughout his life.

From the Ibrahimpatti village in Ballia district of U.P. to the capital of India in Delhi, it is a long distance. For Shri Chandra Shekhar who was born in that small village, no distance was long. How can it be for a person who was destined to travel most of the country from Kanyakumari-Rajghat on foot walking the distance and meeting the people and listening to their grievances?

He always remembered and quoted Acharya Narendra Deva, his teacher, guide and philosopher. His entry into politics to bring in the socialistic form of society was also the result of the inspiration he got from his teacher.

His membership of the Rajya Sabha in 1962 made him a leading Young Turk in the group for ventilating the grievances against the government and the administration.

When the late hon'ble Morarjibhai was the Finance Minister, Shri Chandra Shekharji brought to light the tax evasion of a well-known industrial concern and the name of a known bureaucrat associated with it. During a debate on the issue in the Rajya Sabha, Shri Chandra Shekharji, who was admitted as a patient in the Wellingdon (now R.M.L.) Hospital entered the Rajya Sabha for two hours and completed his sharp speech quoting a Sanskrit verse from Bhartrihari's Nitishatakam causing a piercing impact on the highly disciplined Finance Minister.

निन्दन्तु नीति निपुणा यदि वा स्तुवन्तु
लक्ष्मीः समाविशतु गच्छतु वा यथेष्टम्।
अद्यैव वा मरणमस्तु युगान्तरे वा
न्यायत् पथः प्रविचलन्ति पदं न धीराः॥

* She is a former Member of Parliament and former Union Minister of State.

"...May there be praise or censure, wealth or no wealth, the sincere and courageous people never go a step away from the path of righteousness."

The peple from eastern U.P. always received his help and his shelter for medical treatment in a known hospital in Delhi. All were steps in the universal brotherhood.

Chandra Shekharji first went to the Rajya Sabha and since 1977 started fighting the elections to the Lok Sabha. The Loknayak Jayprakash Narayan's advice, guidance and the steps taken by him went a long way in giving inspiration to Shri Chandra Shekharji.

During the National Emergency imprisonment gave Shri Chandra Shekharji an opportunity of bringing out his "Meri Jail Diary". When it was released to the public, the then Prime Minister Shri Morarjibhai was presiding. The well-known Hindi writer Dr. H.S. Vatsyayan and myself were the only people to speak on the occasion. Dr. Vatsyayan told the audience that he had not read the book, but he felt the author could have better written a novel instead a diary. I was a bit frank in speaking: I said, "a person has no right to make critical remarks without reading the book; secondly the custom as to a novel or a drama, a free verse or a diary, has to be decided by the author, not by the critic. The 'Meri Jail Diary' depicts the personalities and the progress in constructive fields as a result of their service and sacrifices. It reflects, at the same time, the impressions the diarist formed about them.

Shri Chandra Shekharji had to shoulder the responsibilities of building up Janata Party.

Amidst all difficulties, Shri Chandra Shekharji reached the pinnacle of political power. He became the Prime Minister of India with the support of the Congress Party.

गुणाः पूजा-स्थानम् गुणिशु।
न च लिंगम् न च वयः॥

THE PERSON CHANDRA SHEKHAR

*—Rabi Ray**

I was the Speaker of Lok Sabha when Shri Chandra Shekhar was the Prime Minister of India. Ideologically he was associated with the socialist movement in our country. We were very good friends.

Once he requested me to become the Foreign Minister in his Cabinet. I told him it is not at all possible on my part to resign from the post of Speaker of Lok Sabha to join his Cabinet. He was such a good friend of mine that he did not at all misunderstand me for refusing his offer. Our friendship continued as usual.

Shri Chandra Shekhar was a very determined person.

It is his strong determination that enabled him to become the Prime Minister of India.

Posterity would definitely remember him as a successful Prime Minister.

May his soul rest in peace.

* He is the former Speaker of Lok Sabha.

MY IMPRESSION OF SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR

*—Pawan Kumar Bansal**

Chandra Shekharji was one of the most outstanding personalities of Indian polity. From a humble farmer's family to the heights of becoming Prime Minister of the country was indeed a glorious journey, which Chandra Shekharji, with his steadfast commitment to socialist and secular ideology, negotiated with dignity and grace.

Chandra Shekharji, a man of high intellectual and political integrity, always maintained healthy parliamentary conventions and enjoyed the respect of leaders across the political spectrum. He was the well deserved first recipient of the 'Outstanding Parliamentarian Award' in the year 1995.

He was a mass leader of eminence who worked tirelessly for the welfare of ordinary people. He was an eloquent orator, parliamentarian of extraordinary qualities with sharp vision and zeal of a reformer. That summarizes my impression of Shri Chandra Shekharji.

Future generations in India would always remember him fondly with reverence. He surely has place of pride in Contemporary History of India.

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* He is a former Union Cabinet Minister.

A LONE RANGER OF INDIAN POLITICS

*—Vijay Sanghvi**

"What do you want me to do? Allow myself to be subjected to unending pressures?" Chandra Shekhar burst out in exasperation in April 1991 when I suggested that he should continue since the Congress Party had assured him continued support as the Prime Minister. I was closely following him when he had just come out of the Lok Sabha Chamber after his announcement that he was stepping down as the Congress Party did not want to vote for the motion of Thanks Giving to the President's address to the parliament in February 1991. His decision was firm in spite of the pressure mounted on him to continue instead of seeking dissolution of Lok Sabha. His sense as Parliamentarian was reflected in his comment that he would rather give up the office of the Prime Minister than allow the head of the nation to be subjected to a humiliation as the defeat of the motion would mean.

He was constantly aware of the special political circumstance from the day he assumed the office of the Prime Minister. Many persuaded him to accept the office even though his party, after the split from the Janata Dal did not have sufficient numbers. He had obtained a promise of a yearlong support to the government with only 54 members behind him in his new party. In fact the split also came only after Chandra Shekhar conceded that he would try to put the system of governance back on rails after it was derailed by the decision of the previous government to surprise the country with a sudden decision to implement the Mandal Commission recommendations. The flare up caused by self immolation by several youngsters in parts of the country had pushed the country towards anarchy and the future appeared bleak. The person in high office knew that he alone could manage to control the situation.

There was lot of criticism when he agreed to accept the office even though he did not have the requisite numbers to stand behind him. Moreover he never confided in anyone before undertaking the hazardous task. There was no appreciation when he virtually threw away power rather than allow himself to be exposed to blackmail even though he was under tremendous pressure to reconsider his decision to quit. He had done what he could in less than five months to put back the system on rails.

* Journalist and Political Commentator.

Often he confided that he was not sure what role he should accept. Offers of the seat of power had been coming his way for many years. He could have had a powerful position in the Janata Party government in 1977 under Morarji Desai. However, he refused to sit in the government where he mentally did not adjust to accepting the head of the government as his leader. On other occasion, he had sharply said that how could he join the government where he had fundamental differences with the Prime Minister? He could not undermine the government.

His dilemma had emerged from his understanding of the way Nehru had forged out a path of his government that vastly differed from the path indicated by Mahatma Gandhi. In an interview to BBC in 1977, he had said that he felt that Mahatma Gandhi was betrayed. His ideals were side-tracked to further the government interests through a different kind of policy framework. He also firmly believed that the walls of the establishment would be so high that a person occupying a high position would not be able to see, hear or perceive the harsh realities that prevailed on the ground outside the protective cover. That understanding of the ground realities had made him adopt a role so that he could become a corrective force and exert more influence on the men in power than as one of their colleagues.

The tutelage of Acharya Narendra Deva who had picked him for the Praja Socialist Party as he had emerged from the University after his post-graduation had nurtured a sensitive political soul in him. He could not adopt Communism for he was sensitive to individual freedom and human creativity. Only path open to him was of seeking to turn the society into a habitation that would prefer socio-economic equality with fair distribution of the generated wealth. His ideal was health, happiness and general welfare of all except the rich who generally avoided meeting their social obligation by their due taxes. He could not accept the Congress path as he could visualize that the capitalists had a free run despite the restrictive economic stance adopted by the Nehru government. He could lash out in late sixties at the growth of the monopoly and restrictive trade practices that had enriched few monopoly houses despite the existing policy frame work. He came in clash with the then Deputy Prime Minister Morarji Desai but held to his ground so firmly that the Indira Gandhi government was forced to ask the Hazari Commission to investigate into his charges.

His clashes in the Rajya Sabha, his fine tuned and articulate presentation earned him fame all over because he had spoken out what a large majority had felt. The debates in the Rajya Sabha had exposed his forte as an excellent parliamentarian. In fact it so happened, even Morarji Desai never missed the occasion to remain in House when Chandra Shekhar was scheduled to speak. His articulation in Hindi was a phenomenon that other parliamentarians with a known command over Hindi wished that they had the similar choice of words that Chandra Shekhar carried with ease.

In spite of the sharp differences in perception of politics and its objectives between Indira Gandhi and himself, he stood by Indira Gandhi when she was defeated in the Congress Parliamentary Board over selection of the candidate for the Presidential election in August 1969. He persuaded her to desist from the thought of resigning. Instead he prepared her to fight the old rightist group in the party. He took leading part in campaigning for her but was not under illusions that she meant to implement all her electoral promises.

His moral courage made him stand alone with his demand that Indira Gandhi should step down when the Allahabad High Court had unseated her and more so when she imposed the Emergency rule as a way out of her personal political crisis. He could not stand with forces that had smothered democracy and stood away for his entire life though efforts were made to draft him in. He knew that he had no face in the party as nobody would be happy to see him around for he was perceived to be a bull in a china shop by the most established leaders in the party.

He had understanding of Indian history and its prevailing conditions. He was a fired soul to do something but not a great organizer for he loved to walk alone. Once he explained to me that to have many around you also makes you prone to compromises to meet their need and their greed. He was also aware that most entrants in political arena sought power and did not come to serve needs of the people. But, he was strong on maintaining his friendships even when his friends entailed infamy for various reasons. He could publicly meet them and damn the adverse publicity for his public display of loyalty for friends. Due to the realization of a wide abyss between the ruler and the ruled, he undertook a long trek from Kanyakumari to Rajghat in Delhi covering a distance of about four thousand kms. in six months from January to June 1983. He emerged as a leader of hope but was soon immersed in the mundane politics by agreeing to attend the opposition conclave. He lost the 1984 Lok Sabha elections. He also refused to come to the Rajya Sabha. His only answer was that he would come to Parliament only when people decided to send him back.

Indira Gandhi respected him for his qualities, his moral and courageous stand on issues but never knew how to harness him because of his spirit of independence. Yet she would have trusted him with any task than anyone else in her own camp, as several occasions suggested. He never held bitter memories of his long period in solitary confinement in the Patiala Central Jail during the Emergency against Indira Gandhi. In fact he fought with Morarji Desai when the latter was not willing to allot her a decent accommodation in 1977 after her electoral debacle. He was livid with anger with Charan Singh for using flimsy grounds to put her behind bars. 'She is a political opponent and not an enemy of the State', he told

Charan Singh angrily. Indira Gandhi had also responded to his invitation for a dinner that Chandra Shekhar had hosted for a visiting dramatist from Britain, Noel Coward.

He was the first and the last president of the Janata Party because three veterans could not sublimate their ambitions for the coveted post. Even though Jagjivan Ram was not his choice to head the government after the resignation of the Desai government, he frowned against the President Neelam Sanjiva Reddy when he had rejected claim of Jagjivan Ram on frivolous grounds. He had even led a morcha of his party members of Parliament in protest on this at the Vijay Chowk. He could advise the President Zail Singh to desist from action when a demand for dismissal of Rajiv Gandhi as the Prime Minister was ringing through the power corridors from some opposition leaders. "You would destroy not only an office of the Prime Minister but also the Constitution by conspiratorial politics. Powers of the President are not clearly defined for such an Act." He told Zail Singh who headed advice with respect.

He overcame limitations imposed by his preferred position outside the power structure on his ability to communicate over various issues by launching his weekly Young Indian in 1967 that was widely read for its political contents through Chandra Shekhar's editorials. He revived it again in 1997. With few strokes of change of sentences and words, he could impart deep meaning to what he said. Even though his preferred language was Hindi, he was equally at home with English. He was a treasure hold of anecdotes and folk stories and could recall the appropriate one to suit the occasions. No other leader drew as many media persons around him when he was in the Central Hall. These encounters with him were lessons in understanding of Indian politics true nature of political moves and also socio-economic realities. But the young lot of media persons were hard to understand his politics, the moral and ethical sting to it. For them they wanted a straight answer yes or no. He had differed widely in his assessment of the fast changing political situation in 1987. He could not be a part of the musical chair for distribution of seats in the decision making bodies of the opposition groups. For him it was not a sign of unity but merely a symptom of power greed.

Media was impatient with him because he would not accept their chosen one as his leader for media did not want to wait for him to explain his definition of a leader. He always believed that only one who could inspire people could be a leader and accepted Mahatma Gandhi to fit in this.

He was indeed a man of courage and understanding. His deep sense of history and human conditions gave him a rare insight into reading the prevalent conditions and its eventual consequences. He did not garner a

mass-following by his choice for he could not countenance compromise in his stand. He stayed with his friends but would not allow them to exploit him whether in or out of a position. He took on the might of the Congress high command by fighting and winning a seat on the Central Election Committee in 1970. Most leaders admired him but few dared to be closer to him for they knew that he could be brutally frank in telling them off.

He could never resist his desire to intervene when uproars broke out in Parliament. His mere rising in his seat was enough to bring the situation to order because everyone was generally eager to listen to his views on the controversy that had resulted in bedlam. In later years he was however, reluctant to intervene for the fear that young generation that came to the Lok Sabha may interfere with his narration. He was not happy that the proceedings inside were becoming less substantive and more noisy with many members on the opposition bench itching to even suspend the Question Hour—the only time that members could grill the establishment to ferret out the truth buried in the governmental postures.

His short address was memorable for he spoke from his heart when the Congress party decided not to move a resolution in Lok Sabha seeking inquiry into charges of corruption against kith and kin of the Janata Party leaders after the Congress had got endorsement in the Rajya Sabha. The Congress party did not want to invite a defeat. It had won a political battle but as Chandra Shekhar put in few words, it had lost the moral grounds because its move was not ethical politics. Perhaps, he always forgot that others were not in politics for ethical battle. Even many of those who had started with him on a hazardous journey did not stay with him because he could offer them no seat of power. He could only demand a walk through the rough and stone paved path of Indian politics. But he did leave a lasting impression of his political acumen and parliamentary skills. He was certainly a 'Lone Ranger' but his footsteps were heard from miles away. He was not a leader of office. He was a man of vision beyond doubt.

EVER ENDEAVOURING CHANDRA SHEKHAR[#]

*—Narvadeshwar Rai**

The former Prime Minister Shri Chandra Shekhar who spent more than four decades of his public life in Parliament will be counted among those top leaders and senior Parliamentarians of the country whose presence made the parliamentary debates lively and constructive and who acted in enhancing the dignity of this important institution of democracy in the country. He raised each and every issue concerning our national life, national interest and public welfare in Parliament with great dignity, whether the issue was of the monopoly of industrial houses or pertained to uninterrupted ingress of foreign capital or the expansion of the public sector industry and making it an important part of the economy. Shri Chandra Shekhar never stepped back but raised it in Parliament for a lively and fruitful discussion on it.

The developments such as nationalization of banks, discontinuation of privy purses and enactment of a law on lines of MRTP for economic and commercial sector showed his activities in and outside the Parliament. When this law was abolished during the initial stages of Narasimha Rao Government, he had criticized his friend and the Minister of Finance during 15th Lok Sabha, Shri Pranab Mukherjee — "Pranab Mukherjee, what has gone wrong with you, the policies, programmes and laws which we had made together for the economic sector, are being scrapped one by one on the pretext of economic reforms and you are keeping mum." In fact, Chandra Shekhar was not against economic reforms and foreign capital investment but he was in favour of taking a cautious step in this regard and maintaining the importance of public sector industry. He wanted foreign capital investment in the infrastructure sector on the terms of the country. He was totally against the opening up of our domestic market to international companies and overlooking of the interest of consumers. He had the apprehension that it could prove to be dangerous for the country.

Shri Chandra Shekhar was elected to Rajya Sabha in 1962. Hearing his maiden speech, the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had asked his colleague Deputy Minister of External Affairs Shri Dinesh Singh as to who the young bearded man was. Dinesh Singh told him that it was

[#] Originally in Hindi.
* He is a journalist.

Chandra Shekhar who hailed from Ballia. Chandra Shekhar was a brilliant orator and he was skilled in putting his point logically and vigorously. This helped him get early recognition in the House. Whenever any issue related to safeguarding the national interest and integrity of the country arose, he always came forward for discussion. After the attack of China on India in 1962, he had appealed to the Prime Minister to act like a war leader.

During those days, once the founder leader of the Dravida Munetra Kazhagam, C.N. Annadurai had stated in his speech that it was a natural right of every citizen of the country to separate himself from this country. This statement was immediately challenged by Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Chandra Shekhar. As a result of this discussion, the DMK had to change its separatist constitution and take oath of unity and integrity of the country.

In the later half of 1960's *i.e.,* in 1968, Chandra Shekhar had demanded to appoint a commission of inquiry to look into the accumulation of capital by an industrial house of the country through monopoly, ignoring the Government rules and laws. This matter was discussed vehemently in the House. The then Minister of Industrial Development Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad intervened in the debate and the then Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Shri Morarji Desai responded. The proposal was not accepted. But on second day, Shri Chandra Shekhar gave personal explanation in response to reply of Shri Desai which led to a big political turmoil in the Congress Party. Demand was made in the Congress Parliamentary Party to expel Chandra Shekhar from the party. The meeting of the Congress Working Committee was convened in no time but acting on the advice of a senior leader of working committee that the question of privilege of Parliament would arise in case of action against him, the party had to retract. Earlier, Shri Chandra Shekhar had refused to apologise. Finally the matter was settled after a meeting of Shri Chandra Shekhar with Shrimati Gandhi.

During the Vajpayee's Government there was terrorist attack on Indian Parliament. The issue was discussed for two days in both Houses of Parliament and the Government started deploying military forces on border declaring it as conclusive battle. Shri Chandra Shekhar was the only Member in Lok Sabha who opposed the proposed deployment of forces. During his speech, much interruption was made which was objected to by a number of members including Shri Priya Ranjan Dasmunshi of the Congress Party. Next day, while replying to the discussion, Prime Minister Vajpayee said, "Shri Chandra Shekharji is neither in favour of it nor against it but sometimes he states such things which prove to be detrimental to our own interest. Hearing his speech yesterday, I am reminded of 'Shalya' a character of Mahabharat. Shalya was a charioteer of Karna but he used to praise Arjuna's art of war".

Shri Chandra Shekhar had a number of confrontations with many people in his parliamentary life but he never allowed it to affect his personal relationship. He put his points fearlessly and frankly and sometimes he used to make critical remarks. He was called a leader who walked against the stream. While making his point, he used to even rebuke the Members if he got angry but every member in the House listened to him attentively and it had impact on them also. His stature was no less great than that of veteran leaders.

Once when George Fernandes tried to embarrass the Congress Members by referring to a 'circular' of the Ministry of Home Affairs issued during Bangladesh war in 1971, Shri Chandra Shekhar interrupted and advised him not to raise any new dispute. He also gave the same advice to the Congress Members. On hearing this, Prime Minister Vajpayee immediately stood and said, "it is difficult to support all his points but I stand in support of this point. No new dispute should take place when the country is already beset with a number of disputes".

Shri Chandra Shekhar believed in maintaining decorum in Parliamentary Practice and conducting Parliamentary Proceedings smoothly. He was also Chairman of the Committee on Ethics. He was very much against the frequent disruption of proceedings of the House and wastage of its precious time over certain issues. Once he raised strong objection to a comment made by a senior Minister and said to the Hon'ble Speaker to teach the lesson of Parliamentary conduct to the Minister. He always wanted to get the unparliamentary expressions, if any, used by an opposition member against any minister expunged and at the same time, to appreciate a minister, if he did good work.

Once while commenting on a speech of a Minister, who was an advocate by profession at that time, he said that the Minister should note that it was not a court but the Parliament which has its own rules and traditions and everyone is expected to follow the same.

Once when the Leader of Opposition Smt. Sonia Gandhi said that people had apologized in writing to get out of jail in Emergency period, Chandra Shekhar immediately stood up and asked her whether she had any proof of that. If not, she should not speak like that. He was always in favour of maintaining the dignity of Parliament. Once he got so angry on a comment by the court of law against Parliament and its Members that he immediately demanded for an action. On Speaker's observation that they should adopt a justified approach, he said that there was nothing left for such an approach.

Chandra Shekhar was always against the politics of confrontation in and outside the Parliament. He was always in favour of working with mutual understanding and in cooperation in solving the burning problems of the

country. Whenever there had been a situation of confrontation and impasse in Parliament, he tried to resolve that. In 1974, during Jayprakash Narayan Movement, there came a situation of confrontation between Smt. Gandhi and Jayprakash Narayan. At that moment Chandra Shekhar personally tried to ease out the situation between the two leaders. He could not succeed in his endeavour and he was himself sent to jail. On his release from the jail Shri Chandra Shekhar had no bitterness in his heart.

On coming to power in 1977 and again while sitting in opposition in 1979 Shri Chandra Shekhar's attitude towards Smt. Gandhi did not change. He did not let any bitterness creep into mutual relations. After 1980, whether it was a problem related to Assam or Punjab, whenever Smt. Gandhi called him for a discussion, he gave his views freely by visiting in person. However, there had been a slight change in his attitude after 1984. In his political life Chandra Shekhar, who rejected a Cabinet Minister portfolio twice, had to accept the Prime Ministership directly in 1990 when the situation demanded. He had no prior administrative experience but he started his work as a seasoned administrator. When he took over the charge as Prime Minister, 90 cities in the country were under curfew and the situation was extremely tense but soon the situation was brought under control. He gripped over the administration and worked efficiently. But the alliance party created problem one after another and as a result Chandra Shekhar resigned, and despite trying hard he refused to take oath again to form the Government. While he was the Prime Minister on 21 May, 1991, a situation similar to that of 1984 arose again but he managed to control that and no untoward incident in Delhi or in any other part of the country occurred. During his short span in power, he managed both the parties to have a dialogue on Ayodhya issue and started to find an actual solution to the problem. Had he got some more time, he would have perhaps solved the problem.

Chandra Shekhar started his political journey after joining the Congress Party alongwith other socialist leaders of the country under the leadership of Ashok Mehta in 1964. Though it was a new party to him yet he was able to find his place in it. Under his leadership a significant group of Parliamentarians having a socialist thinking was formed, which started to put pressure on the Government on matters related to the economy. The media called the group 'Young Turks' and some politicians called it the group of dissent voice. A few people know that the document which became the basis of 'distinct opinion' of Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi on economic issues in the meeting of the Congress Mahasamiti of Bangalore in 1969 was prepared by Chandra Shekhar and his colleagues Mohan Dharia, Krishan Kant and Ram Dhan. After a split in the Congress, Chandra Shekhar became a member of the Congress Working Committee and in 1972 he

contested the election against the wishes of high command and was elected a member of the Central Election Committee in the Shimla meeting of the Congress Mahasamiti. In that Shimla election, an official candidate of the high command lost the election. In 1973, he succeeded in getting selected as an elected member of the working committee in Calcutta. As a result of these two elections, some started talking of a controversy between Smt. Indira Gandhi and him while Chandra Shekhar had no such thing in his mind. He continuously condemned it.

Whichever party Shri Chandra Shekhar had been attached to, he was in the habit of speaking his mind freely. Whether one liked it or not he had his own way of speaking. Sometimes it resulted in his political loss. He would not speak from the point of view of, getting some political gain or loss. On the contrary, he would speak as per the merit of the situation. In every political party he had many friends and well-wishers. On his 75th birth anniversary, Vice-President, Prime Minister, a former President and leaders from all political parties were present at Vigyan Bhawan in Delhi. All of them appreciated his political traits and his presence of mind. Shri Vajpayee in a lighter mood said that "his friend sometimes criticizes his own Government and demands his resignation". In response, Chandra Shekhar said, "I do not demand your resignation seriously but your leadership is not passive, get up and take charge of the situations. Parliament remain at a standstill on daily basis and others show you the way, this is not correct". On the occasion, late Prime Minister Narasimha Rao said that it was not important whether Chandra Shekhar held any post, his presence was very important. His presence gave stability to our polity. The former President Shri Venkatraman also appreciated Chandra Shekhar's leadership qualities and his administrative competence. Chandra Shekhar had conducted an important 'Padyatra' from Kanyakumari to Delhi in 1983 by which he raised the issue of ensuring the availability of drinking water, health facility for all, eradication of malnutrition among pregnant women, communal harmony and dignified life for tribals and dalits.

Chandra Shekhar was a revolutionary. With his departure, an era in the political scenario of our country has come to an end. One can learn significant lessons from his life. He will always be remembered as a personality who could speak his mind freely and his stature will continuously inspire us to work in the interests of the country and the society putting aside party politics.

EMERGENCE OF A PRIME MINISTER IN SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: A MEMOIR

*—Dr. B.L. Shankar**

Some of our best politicians, including Late Prime Minister, Shri Chandra Shekhar are the products of student movements. The student movements in India have in fact, been the training ground for many contemporary leaders like; Arun Jaitley, Sitaram Yechury, Ravishankar Prasad, Prakash Karat etc.

Allahabad University, the fourth oldest University in India, have two Prime Ministers, *viz*. Vishwanath Pratap Singh and Chandra Shekhar, one interim Prime Minister, Gulzarilal Nanda, number of central ministers, state chief ministers, state ministers and other politicians of repute on its rosters. Patna University was the cradle of the 'JP Movement' (1974) that spawned contemporary leaders like; Lalu Prasad Yadav, Nitish Kumar, Sushil Modi etc.

If we think in the present context of Indian politics, do we have any chance of emergence of such leaders in the near future?

Ironically, student politics in India is now floundering, trapped in inertia and deprived of ideological moorings. Once it gave the country its freedom fighters, prime ministers, chief ministers and men of vision with impeccable credentials.

In this context let me have a journey through the memoirs I had in the company of Prime Minister, Shri Chandra Shekharji.

Called a "Young Turk" for his conviction and courage, Shri Chandra Shekhar stood against politics of personality and stoutly opposed policy of liberalisation, reflecting the socialist ideology he strongly espoused. His advocacy of the politics of ideology and his persistent campaign for rapid social changes brought him in confrontation with Indira Gandhi. So blunt were his views that he incurred the wrath of his party leader late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who jailed him during Emergency in 1975 along with other leading lights of the Opposition like Morarji Desai, Jayaprakash Narayan, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and L.K. Advani.

* He is a former Member of Parliament (Lok Sabha), former Minister, Government of Karnataka and former Chairman, Karnataka Legislative Council.

Shri Chandra Shekhar was attracted to politics from student days and was known as a firebrand idealist. Greatly influenced by Acharya Narendra Deva and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, his stint with Parliament began in 1962. He was strongly against the growth of monopolies with state patronage. When he attacked the disproportionate growth of monopoly houses with state patronage, he came in conflict with the centres of power. He was known for his flawless oratory and a matter-of-fact style in which he held no punches. He would be hard-hitting in his criticism when occasion demanded. This propelled him more towards Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and his idealist view of life during the turbulent years of 1973-75. He soon became a focal point of dissent within the Congress Party.

The irony of the situation and the contradiction of ideologies played a mockery in his life when he became the Prime Minister. That was time when the country was passing through a grave economic situation with foreign exchange reserves dipping to dangerous levels that forced the Government to pledge gold at the international market. He was a strong opposer of getting loans from international financial institutions but the crisis during his time left the country with no choice but to fully embrace World Bank and IMF and the liberalisation policy.

On his imprisonment during Emergency, he wrote his jail diary in Hindi which is a great piece of literature, besides, giving some insights into lesser known aspects of Indian politics. His journalistic instincts has found an Editor in Young Indian (of which he was the founder), a weekly published from Delhi and its editorial had the distinction of being among the most quoted ones of the time.

He was essentially a reformist Congressman of the late 1960s. At that time, the party was controlled by a syndicate of regional bosses, most of whom were branded as anti-socialist, pro-rich and status-quoists.

What drew me to him is; at a time when Indian politics was changing, when parties were playing the caste card (this was during Mandal) or the Hindu card (the Ayodhya agitation had begun) and when, individual politicians had begun living five-star lives, openly flaunting their wealth, he was still an old-style Gandhian politician, anchored to his rural roots, free from caste or communal politics and with no interest at all in the things that money could buy.

All these characteristics have been repeatedly experienced during the 'Padyatra' (marathon walk). This is the most memorable moment which I always want to cherish. I had an opportunity to know Shri Chandra Shekhar throughout 'Padyatra' covering a distance of nearly 4260 kms from Kanyakumari (in the Southern most part of India) to Delhi from

January 6, 1983 to June 25, 1983. The concern for rural masses, value of patriotism, the urge to understand pressing problems of people, all came to life during this Padyatra.

The five issues he highlighted during the Padyatra were:

1. Free and compulsory education to all
2. Pure drinking water to all
3. Nutrition to expectant mothers
4. Communal harmony
5. Dignity for SC & ST population

It may be a world record of sort whereby a national leader of Shri Chandra Shekharji's stature walked continuously for six months without a break, without falling ill and covering an average of 25 kms per day. After the Padyatra one could realize his un-daunting spirits in the establishment of about fifteen Bharat Yatra Centres in various parts of the county including Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh and Haryana to train social and political workers for mass education and grassroot workers in backward pockets of the country.

To his credit, it must be said that he displayed the onus to reinvent himself at the critical points of Indian parliamentary history. As a Congressman, he was in a hurry to break free from Indira Gandhi's fold but was too young to become Prime Minister (with stalwarts such as Morarji Desai calling the shots) when Janata Party swept to power in the post-emergency elections held in 1977.

The Congress victory of 1980's eluded Chandra Shekhar and his brand of politics forever. The socialist ideals, he had spent his life propagating seemed sadly out of date. Rajiv had a vision of the future. The BJP had a Hindu appeal. But Chandra Shekhar and his party had nothing to offer. Their policies were discredited and they were all defined more by the things they loathed than the things they stood for. Within the next few years, in 1989, he reached the end of his political tether when V.P. Singh stole the thunder as the Congress dissident, a role Chandra Shekhar played without enough success during Indira's time.

I came to know him best during Padyatra and though contemporary historians remember that time differently, I always thought that he made a good Prime Minister, nurturing the office with simplicity and earthiness. I remember him as a dignified, mature and intelligent politician who was the "Leader of Leaders".

There was a phase in my life when I knew him reasonably well but it wasn't just the personal connection that accounted for my feelings. It was also a sense that his death marked the end of an era; that it was finally

time to say goodbye to an Indian political tradition that many of us believed in — but which withered away and died, its promise never truly fulfilled.

Shri Chandra Shekhar was remembered for his strict adherence to the parliamentary conventions and he was also honoured with the inaugural Outstanding Parliamentarian Award in the year 1995.

I miss him. I miss his sincerity, his commitment, his warmth and his view that there was a space between the Congress and the BJP. Now, that space has vanished. And Chandra Shekhar, too, is not there.

CHANDRA SHEKHAR : A LIFE-TIME OF RESISTANCE TO GLOBALIZATION

*—Prem Singh**

I was not close to Chandra Shekhar and was not quite sure that he would even know me as a socialist activist and writer. But once a friend told me that Chandra Shekhar would like me to meet him some time. I was told that he wished to discuss his approach to the problem of corruption about which I was very critical in my writings. But I could not meet him then and he became the Prime Minister of India. I found the opportunity of meeting him personally after his brief spell as PM was over. I remember visiting him three times with my senior socialist friends Vinod Prasad Singh, Brij Mohan Toofan and Raj Kumar Jain. On one occasion I saw him alone with a friend who had some problem with his academic career. Chandra Shekhar promptly responded by trying to help. Each time that I met Chandra Shekhar I found him to be a warm and concerned person, ever ready to listen and help. I know several occasions when he helped needy patients in their treatment, particularly in the Government hospitals.

He knew that I was critical of some of his ideas and actions in my writings and speeches, yet I did not find any reservations or hostility on his part whenever I met him. I mentioned this to my journalist friend Hari Mohan Mishra, who happened to be from Chandra Shekhar's constituency and not an admirer of his political decisions as such. He observed that these are the factors in his character which made him a *bada adami*.

The socialists of younger generation may not agree with his political moves but they do admire him for his ideological clarity and political courage which is increasingly missing from the Indian political arena. History alone decides the relative significance of a leader who should be remembered, and how. The assessment of such significance cannot be established without deep cognition. Chandra Shekhar's political thought and concern found genesis in the socialist movement and ideology. Gandhi had been a deep influence on his ideas and personality. Chandra Shekhar was a erudite leader. He edited an important journal of socialist movement *Sangharsh* which was initially brought out by his political guru Acharya Narendra Deva. Chandra Shekhar edited another journal *Young Indian* in

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Hindi as well as in English. In the 19 months of his imprisonment during the Emergency he wrote a diary, published in two parts under the title *Meri Jail Diary*. His autobiography *Zindagi Ka Karvan* and several other books that contain his ideas and interviews have been published by Rajkamal Prakashan, Delhi.

Chandra Shekhar enjoyed close relationships with writers and journalists. He was not and never claimed to be a theorist of socialism like JP, Lohia and Acharya Narendra Deva. He, on the other hand, was a practical politician within the parameters of socialist ideology. In his own way he was a thinker who expressed his ideas as a writer, as an editor and as a leader during the long span of his political career. The consistency of his ideas were remarkable and his concerns were always directed in the interest of the downtrodden. Due to his defiant and rebellious temperament, he earned the name of Young Turk.

In statements and comments of leaders and journalists published in the newspapers the day after his demise, he was remembered as a socialist stalwart, parliamentarian, secularist and a friend for his qualities of fearlessness, straight-forwardness and generosity. However, in most of these glowing tributes except in Janeshwar Mishra's comment in *Dainik Bhaskar* there was hardly any mention of the Chandra Shekhar who had launched a staunch and sustained opposition to globalization, which arrived in the guise of new economic policies and came to be known as liberalism and later as neo-liberalism.

As the first phase of liberalization in India drew to its completion, Chandra Shekhar, on 9 August 2000, the 58th anniversary of the Quit India Movement, launched the Vikalp Abhiyan — a protest march against the forces of globalization. On this occasion he observed, "Our country, forgetting the vision and dream of *Swaraj*, was once again falling into the shackles of economic slavery which would place its political and social freedom at risk in the hands of the international market. The time had arrived to do or die in order to resist neo-imperialism, entering the country through the market."

The blatant assault of neo-liberal forces, from outside and inside India, has become harsher in the last two decades. Had Chandra Shekhar been alive today he would have fought the battle against these very forces more vigorously. If we fail to remember his unique stand against neo-liberalism, then Chandra Shekhar in no way can be different from just another 'good' leader of his times. But the truth is that in mainstream politics, apart from some leftist leaders, he happened to be the lone voice who, in Parliament and outside, was vociferous and vocal against globalization.

The point on which Chandra Shekhar was ahead of the leftists is that he did not stop at a critique of globalization but went on to offer a possible answer. Chandra Shekhar believed in Gandhian economic philosophy as an alternative to new economic policies. He wrote, "The call for *Swadeshi* and *Swavlamban* given by Mahatma Gandhi was not merely a slogan. It was an economic philosophy of life aimed at self-development." In his short span as Prime Minister, Chandra Shekhar firmly resisted the dictates of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. When the Vice-President of the World Bank came to India during his tenure, Chandra Shekhar's clear observation was, "The market economy run by you is confined to a very small population. Please do remember, they alone do not constitute the entire nation."

Chandra Shekhar organized a public awareness campaign — *Jan Chetna Abhiyan* — against the Dunkel Proposals. He participated in Swadeshi Jagran Manch on the call of the RSS Chief Balasaheb Deoras. However, he became disillusioned with that very soon. In the year 2000 on the occasion of August Revolution Day he launched the Vikalp Abhiyan, mentioned above, to protest against the second phase of globalization. But as he confessed, the hope of a powerful movement emerging out of this Abhiyan could not be achieved. Consequently he planned a Yatra from Puri in Odisha to Porbander in Gujarat. An effort was also made in this direction with the support of four former Prime Ministers *viz.* V.P. Singh, P.V. Narasimha Rao, H.D. Deve Gowda and Inder Kumar Gujral.

It becomes evident from these concrete ventures and programmes that his protest against globalization was not merely verbal. He was of the firm belief that the larger poor population of India will bear the brunt, not benefit, from globalization. Not for a moment did he believe that there could be a 'human face' to such a system. Yet the fact remains that he could not achieve much success in spearheading a strong movement against globalization. A point to consider here is that Chandra Shekhar did not have much of a link with the movements and activists outside mainstream politics, who had been offering a relentless fight through their own small but substantial thoughts programmes. Had this happened the picture of the politics might have been much more different. Till the end he held the view that politics as such should not be discarded for being bereft of any positive potential to face the challenges of globalization.

Chandra Shekhar continued to search for an alternative to globalization within the mainstream politics. The need, however, was to look beyond the considerations of the 'mainstream' in order to circumvent the compromises and pitfalls inherent in mainstream politics. Who could have understood this need better than Chandra Shekhar? In his autobiography he wrote, "There were five issues involved in Bharat Yatra — scarcity of proper food and drinking water, primary education, basic health amenities and fifth —

social harmony. I had planned in my mind that we would work in 350 backward districts of the country. In order to perform this task I had decided to quit the post of the president of Janata Party. But I could not do this. After the Yatra I became trapped in the politics of opposition. That was my mistake." In the book *Rahabari Ke Sawal,* edited by Rambahadur Rai, he expressed regret for joining the electoral politics and, in the process, forsaking the common people and the youth who had joined him during the Yatra.

Despite this realization, to the very end, Chandra Shekhar could not gather the courage to remedy this error of judgment and rectify his mistake. This was unfortunate, particularly because concrete efforts in this direction had already been initiated at several grassroot levels. The decision to turn away from mainstream politics that had increasingly begun to toe the line of globalization and seek alternative modes of seeking solutions to political dead ends had already been pushed forward by another veteran of the socialist movement, Kishan Patnaik along with several young and senior socialists leaders.

If Chandra Shekhar, like Patnaik, had broken away from the yoke of mainstream politics, the way he had done during his Bharat Yatra and opted for alternative politics, it would have been very difficult for neo-imperialism to sink in its teeth so irremediably in the country's economy. Many committed socialist workers find it curious and also a pity that while Chandra Shekhar had dialogues with and the cooperation of intellectuals and leaders like Deoras and Nanaji Deshmukh from other ideological groups, there was none of the socialist leaders who were involved solely in this direction. Whatever may have been the reasons, had there been a closer association between them, a stronger resistance to globalization would have certainly emerged. Leaders, commentators and the media might well have ignored his role as the one who opposed globalization. But history will always present him as an uncompromising political figure who will continue to inspire generations to come.

CHANDRA SHEKHAR *ALIAS* 'NETAJI'

*—Vijay Naik**

Chandra Shekhar, the former Prime Minister was fondly called a 'Netaji' by us, journalists. He really proved to be a Netaji of Indian politics, as leaders of all political hues used to look up to him in times of crisis. They knew that he had a knack of dousing fire. The span of his Prime Ministership was short. He was at the helms of affairs for less than a year during 1990-91. The circumstances, in which he became Prime Minister were unprecedented and the way he had to resign were also unique to say the least. Rajiv Gandhi having lost the Lok Sabha polls, decided to support Chandra Shekhar from outside, who had support of about 58 members of Parliament. He must be the only leader who became the Prime Minister with such a small number of the supporters since independence. His Government was dependent totally on the outside support of the Congress, which was known for arm twisting tactics. The country was going through political instability, economy was in bad shape. The Janata Party Government of former Prime Minister V.P. Singh had been defeated. The debate of Bofors Scandal was very much in the air and politics was rife with the fierce debate on Mandal.

I remember the days of Young Turks, core of which primarily comprised of Chandra Shekhar, Krishna Kant, Ram Dhan, Mohan Dharia and others. They were regarded as men of principles and had taken up to fight against the autocratic rule of Mrs. Gandhi. In fact, all of them at one time were followers of Congress and had supported Mrs. Gandhi. They propagated 'left of the centre' policies. But, one by one they left the party. Chandra Shekhar was also imprisoned during the emergency. In the wake of the formation of Janata Party task had fallen on Chandra Shekhar to keep the opposition united. He failed due to sharp differeces among the leaders. For some time, he would become isolated or a recluse. However, he used to tell us that, when he was in the Congress, he had nothing personal against Mrs.Gandhi, but he was opposed to her style of functioning. He was a bitter critic of emergency. In the initial stages, when he was close to Mrs.Gandhi, he had even suggested her to take action against the reactionary elements within the party represented by the elderly leaders.

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According to the author Manisha in her book 'Profiles of Indian Prime Ministers', "As the long arms of the Syndicate were closing on her, plans were discussed to meet the threat. It was in the course of such discussions that Chandra Shekhar gave Mrs. Gandhi the idea that the party could be split in order to get rid of the 'right reactionaries' and thus consolidate her position. The first time he mentioned it to her, she seemed to be shocked. She stared at him in disbelief. And yet, in 1969, she boldly went ahead, on her own, to split the party. She repeated her performance in 1977".

He was the best parliamentarian and was rightly chosen for that coveted award. He was very affable person and used to sit and chat for hours in the Central Hall with us, reeling out nostalgic memories of the politics of yesteryear. Always clad in a dhoti and white shirt, sometimes donning a jacket, he was simply dressed but when it came to debates, he was the voice of reason and conviction. Short beard was his trade mark. There were number of occasions during the rule of National Democratic Alliance, when he would cheer up the tense atmosphere on the floor of the House. There existed a 'Guru-Shishya' relationship between the former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Chadra Shekhar. As he rose to speak in the House, there used to be pin drop silence. Every one would look at him to hear his wise counsel or to what his advice or proposal would be to break the ice. He had an uncanny sense of humour that sometimes, left the members reeling under laughter.

He was not against the policy of liberalisation per se, but was fiercely against the entry of multinationals in the country. He brought out quite a few reports, based on the research done by Acharya Narendra Deva Institute of Social Sciences, showing exploitation by these companies in developing economies and how they adversely affected the very basis of democracy leading to more poverty. "They would make India a Banana Republic", was his ruse. In that respect, he agreed with George Fernandes and other socialists and communists who waged battle against transnational companies.

Chandra Shekhar's favourite abode Bhondsi Ashram was in Haryana. Surrounded by hills, it was one of the most beautiful and salubrious places, which he had developed over the years. A visit to Bhondsi would make one fresh. It had a small man made canal. Deers used to roam around, giving it a touch of forest. This was his farm house, quiet and away from the crowded and cacophonus capital, Delhi. But, he came under severe criticism, as he used to travel to Bhondsi with his carcade almost every day when he was Prime Minister. This entailed burden on the public exchequer. He was extremely pained when a news appeared that opium was being grown in the Ashram. He specially invited us one day and took us around, saying, "look for yourselves what am I growing, they say I am growing". What we

saw was that various vegetables of daily consumption were standing in the field. There was not an iota of truth in the story, which he termed, "baseless and nasty". His residence 3, South Avenue was a place of many a political intrigue and confabulation. It was Netaji's air conditioned kutir. There were no sofas. Each one had to take out his shoes and sit on the floor to talk to him. The atmosphere was always relaxed. Leaders of number of political parties used to meet here to discuss the political and social issues.

Once, I met him at 2, Krishna Menon Marg, the then residence of former Union Minister Vasant Sathe. Sathe had organised a get-together. Chandra Shekhar was late. By the time, he arrived, almost everyone had left. I was about to leave after a chat with Sathe. Then saw him entering the lawn accompanied by his AK-47 weilding black cat commandos. Chandra Shekhar looked at me and said, "Are bhai ruko, hamare liye itna bhi nahi karoge?" There was smile on his face, but beneath the smile, was a reality. He was no more the Prime Minister, hence, no followers had accompanied him. Pointing at the commandos, he said, "now I have no supporters, except them". As he walked to the table, Sathe entered and we talked for a while before leaving.

I vividly remember marathon Padyatra that he undertook in 1983. He was perhaps the only leader in the recent memory to have undertaken such a walk to get a feel of the countryside and the state of the people. He covered a distance of nearly 4300 kms., indeed a gruelling long march. It caught the fascination of the nation and it reminded people of the freedom struggle led by Mahatma Gandhi. As today, they were also the days of high flying politicians. But he wanted to know the situation at the grassroot. This stamina of Chandra Shekhar might have to do something with his childhood in Ibrahimpatti where he was born in 1927. His biography says, "he used to walk 11 kms. every day to attend the school, sometimes through the streams, putting books on his head". Although, there might not have been alternative, but it showed his courage and determination, the qualities, that helped him during his political career. The money collected during the Padyatra was used to set up 15 centres in the country to train social and political workers to enable them to work in the remote areas.

With the graft in politics becoming a matter of great concern, a Committee on Ethics was appointed under his Chairmanship (2000-2001). The Committee, after due deliberation, presented a report to the House, listing the 'do's and don'ts' for the members of Parliament.

Another incident, I remember, was his unusual swearing in ceremony after being chosen by the then President R. Venkataraman in 1990. Chandra Shekhar thought that his was the real government of the people. Hence, he did not want to take the oath in the glitter of Ashoka Hall, but requested the President to hold the ceremony on the forecourt of the

Rashtrapati Bhavan. The forecourt was full of the leaders, party workers and journalists. It was here that he and Chaudhary Devi Lal were sworn in as Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister.

As age and cancer caught with him, his attendance in the Parliament declined. Though in pain, he would make special efforts to come to the House and sit through the debates. Later, that too became cumbersome. What endeared him to the journalists was his simplicity, openness and his habit of speaking without fear. He was the same jovial, anecdotal, smiling Chandra Shekhar, who would have cup of coffee with the leaders and journalists.

He is no more, but his memories refuse to fade away. In his demise, the country lost a great patriot, a socialist and a firebrand, who lived simply but always thought of the unity of the country.

CHANDRA SHEKHAR: STANDING OUT IN THE CROWD[#]

—*Harivansh**

For the last few decades I have been feeling as if the country were drifting towards a state of anarchy and misgovernance signalling steady erosion leading one day to the collapse of the state power. In such a scenario, I am reminded of two people-one, Prof. Gunnar Myrdal, the author of the classic 'Asian Drama'[1]-the renowned economist of the world who won Nobel Prize for his work, and the other, Shri Chandra Shekhar - a statesman in the crowd of the leaders who led the country after 1980. He was a pragmatic leader who had a fantastic understanding of the grassroots. He had the dexterity and innate calibre of getting at and appreciating the nuances and nitty-gritties of sensitive issues and taking them to their logical conclusion. And the most significant forte was his courage to take risks.

Prof. Gunnar Myrdal wrote in the 'Asian Drama' during the sixties that the real problem with India was that it was a soft state. This notion had been substantiated during the past fifty years. Letting loose the reins of governance constantly had been at the root of its backwardness, internal bickerings, chaos and under-development. Though there were Governments at the State and the Central level and there was a whole set of infrastructure and a system of governance right from the Prime Minister's office upto village panchayat level in place, yet, centrifugal forces of dissipation, dissolution and strife were pulling the country apart. The dignity and prestige of the State was on the wane. According to him, the political leadership that possesses the necessary administrative acumen, has the courage to take unpopular decisions, does not have a disconnect with the grassroots, has a deep understanding of history and is vested with a vision for the future can change the fate of the country with the help of such governance skills. Then there would be no need to seek grants from other countries of the world or assistance from the World Bank and the Western nations.

Chandra Shekhar assumed the office of Prime Minister on 10 November 1990 banking upon the support of 50 Members of Parliament in Lok Sabha. At that time, the country was simmering on the issues of construction of

[#] Originally in Hindi.

* Member of Rajya Sabha.

[1] The full title of the book is "Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations and the Challenge of World Poverty. A World Anti-Poverty Program in Outline".

a Rama temple and reservation on the basis of Mandal commission recommendations. Chandra Shekhar's first priority was to normalise the situation. The members of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad sent a message to him seeking his audience. The Prime Minister, Chandra Shekhar immediately granted it and asked them to call on him at the Prime Minister's residence or office. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad perhaps did not expect such quick response and suffered from indecision. Sensing their predicament, the Prime Minister, Chandra Shekhar offered to see them in their meeting. The members of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad were taken aback and stunned. The security personnel of the Prime Minister were on their toes and went into a tizzy. Chandra Shekhar reached the meeting venue of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. No other leader accompanied him. This meeting was being held at the residence of Rajmata Vijayaraje Scindia. All the prominent leaders of the Parishad had congregated there.

The Prime Minister arrived when the meeting was on. Ashok Singhal was speaking in a fiery and impetuous tone, spitting venom, saying that there would be bloodbath etc. Unfazed by the heat of the meeting, tall talks and scary announcements, Chandra Shekhar looked quite unassuming, undeterred and unintimidated.

The *sine qua non* of Chandra Shekhar's personality was that he had an indomitable courage though he was too sensitive to withstand the death of a bird. But he would remain unperturbed even in the most adverse circumstances. He may be immensely perturbed and in despair from within on some emotional or touchy occasions, but no one could read it on his face. The tone and tenor of his speech would not change even in a provocative situation.

He was requested to express his views. The people present there shared the same ideology, were part of the same movement and belonged to a particular group. Chandra Shekhar was alone in this maddening crowd. He rose to speak and said with full assertion at his command, "I heard the thunderous echo of chivalry and chilling tall announcements. I too have some knowledge of history. Mahmood of Ghazni attacked India a number of times. Not a single 'Panda' (priest) laid down his life. Don't let the past haunt you. It will not serve anybody's interest. It may be known that if a single brick is tried to be dislodged from the structure of the mosque at Ayodhya, the Government will have to take action and tens of thousands of people will lose their lives. Nobody is above the Constitution or the Union of India. It is the paramount and sacred duty of the Government to defend the law of the land and the Constitution".

On hearing this, a stunning silence pervaded in the congregation. The silence was broken when it was asked by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad whether there was any way out left now.

Chandra Shekhar said that there was a way out. If they agree, the Government would hold talks with the Babri Masjid Action Committee also. Subsequently, the Prime Minister called a meeting of the members of the Babri Masjid Action Committee. He told them that there were about six lakh villages in the country. Hindus and Muslims lived together in about 5.50 lakh villages. Riots would spread to those villages in case this dispute assumed serious proportions. There would be tension. Security of every individual cannot be ensured even if the Government of India deployed police, paramilitary forces in full strength. Therefore, a solution has to be evolved.

Thus, a dialogue was set in motion within seven days to solve the Ayodhya dispute. Those who used to spit venom against one another, sat across the same negotiating table to work out a solution. This is what is called the art of governance, the political prowess. Chandra Shekhar took a very concrete, meaningful and serious step to address the problem of Ayodhya, which is still haunting the country and taking a toll on its future dreams and economic growth. This bold step was taken by a Government of 50 MPs, by a Prime Minister who neither had the strength of an organization, nor the backing of a strong party to fall back upon, nor did the numerical strength of MPs favour him.

Chandra Shekhar made Sharad Pawar, Bhairon Singh Shekhawat and Mulayam Singh Yadav a part of this dialogue. He assigned them the responsibility of monitoring and reporting progress on a daily basis. He also included the Archeological Survey of India in this dialogue process. The Government asked the Supreme Court to give its decision within a month. The Supreme Court said that it would give its ruling in three months. The ruling would not be advisory, but mandatory (has to be complied with). The Union Government agreed to this.

The Chandra Shekhar Government told both the parties that they would have to accept the Supreme Court's ruling. Whatever the decision, it would be the Government's duty to implement it, even if the Government might have to take stringent steps in this regard.

All parties agreed to find a solution. In the meanwhile, the Chandra Shekhar Government resigned on the issue of two police personnel. In fact, there were other reasons for the fall of his Government. One of those reasons was the Ayodhya dispute. The bigwigs of politics sensed that Chandra Shekhar might get the credit for solving the Ayodhya tangle. Some powerful people did not want Chandra Shekhar to add a feather to his cap.

This became evident from the fact that Sharad Pawar used to give daily report of progress made in this regard to Congress High Command, while Bhairon Singh Shekhawat to BJP. Perhaps both the parties might have been averse to finding a solution.

Likewise, the Chandra Shekhar Government was taking concrete steps against Pak-sponsored terrorism in Kashmir and Punjab and extremism in North-East. Efforts were made to take significant initiatives in this direction, so that this cancer afflicting the country for decades might get cured. After taking the charge of Prime Minister's office, Chandra Shekhar went to attend the SAARC Summit in Maldives. Nawaz Sharif, the Pakistan PM was also there. In the very first meeting, he became an admirer of Chandra Shekhar. He addressed him as 'Elder Brother'. In an informal chat on Kashmir, Chandra Shekhar asked Nawaz Sharif as to why they always ranted about Kashmir. He warned him that if India ever accorded them their wish and offered Kashmir on a platter, it would not come without a cost. He added that India is a secular country and Kashmir is the symbol of its secularism. The day Kashmir goes to Pakistan, it will become extremely difficult to contain communal uprising, backlash and nationwide riots. If at that time the minorities from other states also chose to migrate to Pakistan, would Pakistan have the capability to rehabilitate and settle them? Nawaz became silent on hearing a new perspective on this sensitive issue. He stopped mentioning Kashmir in his speeches (inside or outside Pakistan). After that, Chandra Shekhar said to Nawaz Sharif that both countries shared the same past, soil and culture. There were many areas of common interest and sagacity demanded that we combined our forces and resources to strengthen such areas for the mutual benefit and development of both the countries. Had he commanded full majority as the Prime Minister and enjoyed longer tenure, he would have taken bolder steps for developing strong and better Indo-Pak relations.

Chandra Shekhar was directly catapulted to the office of the Prime Minister. He had never been a part of Government earlier. This raised apprehensions in many departments if the Prime Minister could handle sensitive issues with the desired dexterity? The Ministry of External Affairs was equally skeptical because the bureaucracy was not acquainted with Chandra Shekhar's capability of taking prompt decisions, his wit and gift of the gab, his intellectual astuteness to grasp the crux of the matter within no time and his ability of being brief and to the point. His prowess and insight into foreign relations and diplomacy was quite astonishing.

Once the leader of the Labour Party led a delegation of four-five Members of Parliament of England to visit the country. The leader of Labour Party is the Prime Minister designate of Britain. Prior to that another

important leader (Deputy Leader in Parliament) of Labour Party, Mr. Kaufman had visited Pakistan. He visited Pak-occupied Kashmir also. He made venomous remarks against India. Kaufman intended to visit India next. But the Chandra Shekhar Government decided to deny visa to him though the Ministry of External Affairs was ready to grant visa as it feared that denying visa to such an important leader of Labour Party would not be in the interest of India. In the meanwhile, this delegation had visited India. The Ministry of External Affairs was worried about how would the Prime Minister defend his decision of not granting visa to Kaufman.

The Delegation called on the Prime Minister. It was an important occasion. After some formal exchanges, Chandra Shekhar remarked that the Labour Party had made a great contribution in India's Independence. It has always championed the cause of liberty, equality and fraternity in the world. Has there been a shift in its ideology in the recent past? "Who is this Kaufman in your country", he asked, "who makes whimsical remarks against India?" The entire British Delegation was on the defensive trying to cover up Kaufman's remarks. The Ministry of External Affairs was numbed, but amused. It was numbed to watch the Prime Minister's 'extraordinary maturity', competence and self-confidence. The British Delegation was very impressed and returned with the assurance of further strengthening ties in future.

There have been instances when some former Prime Ministers of India sought an appointment to see the US President when they visited America, but did not get an audience with him. America used to dictate terms to Indian leadership (ruling as well as opposition). In such a situation, one day thirty five infiltrators were killed on Indo-Pak border. The US Senators launched a scathing attack on India on this count and raised the issue of violation of human rights. Attempts were made to isolate India. In the meantime, the then U.S. Vice President visited India. The Ministry of External Affairs was anxious that he would definitely raise this issue. How would the Government of India react? The Prime Minister was apprised of the anxiety of the Ministry of External Affairs.

The U.S. Vice President called on the Prime Minister, Chandra Shekhar. After discussing other issues, he came to the point. He said that 35 persons were killed on Indo-Pak border. American Senators were quite perturbed and concerned about this. Chandra Shekhar tersely responded by saying that he knew his country, its borders and its problems more than the American Senators did. He said that a nation hell bent upon taking revenge for 100 years would not listen to the language of peace. Everyone was flabbergasted. This paved way for a level playing field for holding talks. The talks concluded on a happy note.

It may be recalled that Chandra Shekhar had inherited the country's economy in shattered condition. Those days Chandra Shekhar repeatedly uttered in his speeches, 'Why do we consider ourselves so hapless, weak and helpless? We may need support from other nations but then other countries also need our support because we have a population of 90 crore (1991 census). Others also need our support as much as we need theirs. The equation of our country with others should be that of equality, parity and respect and not that of the benefactor and the beggar. Such logical stand taken by Chandra Shekhar reminds me of a much talked about incident, which did rounds in the corridors of power in Delhi those days.

The then Vice President of the World Bank visited India. He was of Pakistani origin. Later on he shot to fame in Pakistan politics for a brief period. He came to pay a 'courtesy call' on the Prime Minister. During the talks he discussed the market economy, consumerism and financial policies of the World Bank. He gave some suggestions for India. He said that the World Bank favoured India. In reply Chandra Shekhar made certain remarks on the World Bank's economic paradigms and struck at the root of the philosophy behind the World Bank's economic policy formulations. He also hinted at the political motives behind the policies of the World Bank.

The Vice President retorted back saying that if the World Bank stopped giving aid, what would India do?

Indian Economy was in deep waters then. Balance of Payment situation was in a critical state. The Prime Minister replied: 'I would immediately approach the media, address the country and announce that all imports would be stopped, barring life saving drugs and essential petroleum products and we would find indigenous solutions.

Thereafter the Prime Minister asked the Vice President if the World Bank or the Western countries had the power to ignore the Indian market. He said that they came to India to look for greener pastures of a consumer market. One should remember that 30 per cent Indians were least concerned with the market. Barring salt, the Indians bartered products ranging from *Datun* (a fibrous twig used for brushing teeth) to eatables. He said that the Western nations needed India more. They look for market and consumers here. This remark made him lose his wits and he was left speechless. He said that he did not intend to say that.

The Vice President flew to Ahmedabad after meeting the Prime Minister. He called up Sanat Mehta in the evening. Shri Mehta was chief of the World Bank sponsored Narmada project. During a private conversation with Sanat Mehta the Vice President said, 'as long as Chandra Shekhar was the Prime Minister of India, there was no scope for market incursions here.'

Such was the observation of the Western powers on the chaste ideology of Chandra Shekhar. Why? Because he talked of achieving development by dint of indigenous competence.

That is why despite being the Prime Minister, Chandra Shekhar was kept in the dark about the alternative proposals sent by the World Bank for implementing new economic policy in India. This became the topic of the day after P.V. Narasimha Rao assumed the office of Prime Minister. The question was how could the bureaucracy afford to not apprise the then Prime Minister about that document of World Bank for four months. The fact is that this concealment tactics was in practice much before. When V.P. Singh was the Prime Minister, Ajit Singh formulated a new industrial policy which was in accordance with the guidelines of the World Bank. Prior to this, the then Minister of Finance V.P. Singh set in motion the new economic policies during the Prime Ministership of Rajiv Gandhi. Those policies were also chalked out according to the directions of the World Bank. Chandra Shekhar was the only person to raise his voice against such economic policies. He made a very impressive statement against the industrial policy drafted by Ajit Singh of his own party's Government in Lok Sabha. He set the ball of discussion rolling in the country against the new economic policies of Narasimha Rao and Dr. Manmohan Singh.

On the policy of liberalization, he said in 1993, "I am not saying it today only. When the Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance were emphatically saying that we have to be a part of the global market, I asked in Parliament which market they wanted to connect to? The market that was responsible for two world wars, promotes economic imperialism, makes poor nations fight with each other? They are the traders of death and India is the harbinger of 'live and let live'. There can be no agreement between the two".

Today, we recall the stand he took. Also remember that at that time everyone right from the Leftwing to Rightwing politician in Parliament had become the supporter of market economy.

In fact, Chandra Shekhar was against this era of neo capitalism (sociologists, economists term this era of new economic policy as neo capitalism or market-oriented economy or globalization). His indoctrination and growth in politics was itself based on such an ideological premise that deems increasing influence of private capital detrimental for setting up an egalitarian, socialistic society. It is for such ideals that he was called the 'Young Turk'. His advocacy for the nationalisation of banks or abolition of privy purse or doing away with the monopoly of Birla-Tata, was aimed at fulfilling a bigger dream. Therefore, the big capitalists, big corporate houses of India were against him from the beginning. Once this very

capitalists' pressure group lobbied to deny him ticket for the Rajya Sabha. Bhupesh Gupta and several other well-known Members raised this issue in the Parliament during those days. It was the same capitalists' group that played a role in destabilising his Government. Economic crisis loomed large in the country in 1990. During that period, the Chandra Shekhar Government imposed taxes to the tune of around ₹ 1200 crore on corporate houses. No taxes were imposed on the common people.

He would often contend that if the country was going through a crisis, the prosperous and affluent upper classes should share the burden to bail it out. He had to pay a heavy price and had to bow out of the Government for taking the capitalists head on and challenging their monopoly and not on account of the surveillance charges of Rajiv Gandhi by the two constables of Haryana. Former President Venkataraman (who was President at that time) has written in his memoirs that Rajiv Gandhi had given assurance to extend unconditional support to Chandra Shekhar for at least one year, then only was the latter invited to form the Government. The actual reasons behind the fall of his Government were - the campaign launched by big corporate houses against Chandra Shekhar, the prospects of an out of the box solution forthcoming for Ayodhya tangle, his rise as a statesman and an efficient administrator, his campaign against the pro-America forces and apprehensions about his proposed budget.

The Chandra Shekhar Government was not allowed to formulate the budget. It became a matter of confabulation and concern among the big business houses and the supporting political party that the indigenous solution sought by the Chandra Shekhar's Government to tackle the economic downturn of the 1990s or the budget being formulated by Chandra Shekhar based on his ideas and economic vision would lead to polarization on economic issues. His politicking would leave little room for the politics of religion and caste. The strong elite class, capitalist houses and prominent political parties of India did not want that to happen. That's why, the Government of Chandra Shekhar was pulled down.

His common sense in regard to governance, sagacity and presence of mind were unparalled. He did not get enough time to leave his imprint on foreign affairs.

When he was the Prime Minister, the daughter of a senior leader from Jammu and Kashmir and Member of Parliament, Prof. Saifuddin Soz was kidnapped. It was reported that the terrorists had kidnapped the girl. She was kept in the POK. Soz telephoned Chandra Shekharji. A father was in trouble. It was the question of his daughter. Chandra Shekhar made a telephone call to the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif but came to know that he was in Beijing (China). In the evening, he suddenly

came across the Pakistan envoy to India, Abdul Sattar, in a party, who later became the Minister of External Affairs in Pakistan and a fan of Chandra Shekhar. Chandra Shekhar handled the situation in a totally unconventional manner. He asked Sattar if he could convey his message to Nawaz Sharif. Sattar replied in the affirmative. He explained that this fact was not in the knowledge of bureaucracy or propagated through proper channel. The message was that the daughter of Soz, a senior politician of Jammu & Kashmir, had been kidnapped. He requested the envoy that this message be telecast and broadcast on Pak T.V. and radio respectively for three days with an appeal that whosoever had kidnapped that innocent girl had done a very inhuman act and that this is against the tenets of Islam. The girl should be released. This message was broadcast and telecast on Pakistan radio and television in their bulletins for three days. The girl was released.

Renuka Choudhary, now a Congress leader, was then an MP of Telugu Desam Party. Janardhan Reddy of the Congress party was the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. Attacks were being carried out at the houses of the leaders of the Telugu Desam Party. The cinema hall of NTR was burnt down. The rioters surrounded the house of Renuka Choudhary. They wanted to set it afire too. The harried MP, Choudhary made a direct telephone call to Chandra Shekhar from her seized house. She was extremely petrified and distraught. Prime Minister, Chandra Shekhar sought for Chief Minister, Janardhan Reddy. He had gone somewhere and was not available on phone. On the orders of Chandra Shekharji, the Border Security Force (BSF) was asked to reach there. Within 15 minutes, the BSF took over the area for ensuring security of the house of Renuka Choudhary. The rioters fled away.

Decision had to be taken in regard to holding elections in Assam and Punjab. Despite all apprehensions, the Chandra Shekhar Government decided to hold elections in both the States. It is different that as soon as Narasimha Rao took over as the Prime Minister, elections in Punjab were deferred by the Election Commission at the behest of the Congress. The question of tackling ULFA extremists arose during the Assam elections. The Prime Minister was apprised of the matter. After getting a complete briefing, Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar asked to get them flushed out in a limited operation. The extremists of Assam somehow came to know about this hard decision of the Union Government. They fled to Bangladesh. All the apprehensions of the probable large-scale violence in Assam during the elections proved wrong. Elections were held peacefully there.

There was another aspect of his tenure. The first important meeting on the issue of the development of North-Eastern States was held in Guwahati. The Chief Ministers of North-Eastern States, senior officers of

the Government of India, Ministers and the Prime Minister were present in the meeting. The objective was to take an on-the-spot decision in this meeting of 'the highest authorities' for the accelerated development of North-Eastern States. The personal experience of Chandra Shekharji was the main force behind the initiation of this process. He had earlier visited Manipur in the 70s as a Member of Parliament, as a Young Turk leader. There, the youth complained that Delhi was discriminating against them. They cited the example of the number of flyovers present and being constructed in Delhi. In contrast, there was only one bridge over the Brahmaputra river. Only one bridge was there for the movement of people and traffic between Assam and other States, while there were several flyovers in Delhi for the smooth movement of cars of the political class of Delhi. He often raised this issue. His effort was to give priority to the problems of the people and he stressed that the agencies responsible for maintaining law and order should perform their duties.

He raised the issue of the rising regional disparity in Lok Sabha in the wake of liberalization. Important meetings were organized by him in which discussions were held on these issues in details. Among the eminent intellectuals and political workers one can hardly find any such leaders in any political party today who are raising such matters.

He had a clear and straightforward stand on the issues of Kargil and cross border terrorism. Regarding Kargil, he commented on the inefficiency of the Government. He said Foreign militants infiltrated into the country and remained there for several months. But strangely Government remained unaware. And, when the Government woke up, the action was limited as per America's direction. The Government claimed as if they had won the battle. The enemies entered and captured our homes, but we were not aware. When we came to know of it, we started seeking assistance from other countries of the world. We are celebrating after getting our own house vacated as if we had captured the enemy's land.

During that period, much hue and cry was made by the leaders about terrorism inside the country from across the border and that Pakistan should put a check on it. They urged America to impress upon Pakistan to check terrorism. Chandra Shekhar used to say that it is understandable if anything happens along the Indo-Pak border but terrorists from across the border reach up to Delhi, prepare to attack the Parliament. Is it the responsibility of Pakistan to check such incidents occurring inside the country or is it the responsibility of our Government and our system? What were we doing when terrorists were reaching Delhi after crossing the borders?

Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated. That day Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar was visiting the remote tribal areas of Odisha. The plane of the

Prime Minister took off late at night from Bhubaneshwar. He was alone in the cabin. He called me. I did not see him so aggrieved and grief-stricken before this or after that. Our plane reached Delhi around midnight. Chandra Shekharji was shocked but was awake and alert regarding each and every arrangement. He went to Doordarshan and All India Radio direct from the airport. He got the condolence message recorded and appealed to the people of the country. He sought each and every information in regard to the arrangements of keeping the dead body of Rajiv Gandhi for *darshan*. He took stock of the arrangement in regard to the welcome and stay of the Heads of States of various countries visiting on that occasion.

Almost the whole night was spent in this way. Meanwhile, the Lieutenant Governor of Delhi received an information (or rumour) that 250-300 people dancing bhangra from the Trans-Yamuna area were coming towards the *darshan sthala*. They supposedly intended to go up to the cremation ground of Rajiv Gandhi. Instruction was given by the Prime Minister to arrest members of such a crowd. The situation should remain under control at any cost, he said.

Further, information came that 200-250 people have gathered at the Teenmurti Bhawan. There was controversy in regard to keeping the dead body of Rajiv Gandhi. Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar telephoned an important person and asked him to ensure that the crowd was removed from there. He ordered that if people did not listen they should resort to 'lathi charge' and in the event of violence do flag march or resort to firing. That officer said: 'All right, Sir, and expressed his apprehension and asked what had to be done in case the civil administration would create any hurdles (as law and order is a state matter). Chandra Shekhar said, 'I am the highest civil authority of the country. I am giving you the instruction, bring a blank paper and I will sign on it.' The officer was overwhelmed. He said that it would not be needed. Everything will be under control and no disturbance spread anywhere in the country.

Such was the administrative deftness, such was the ability of a person who became the Prime Minister with the support of only 50 Members of Parliament. The Lok Sabha was dissolved and the election of the first phase was over. Despite that he was so alert and asserted his authority.

He did not lose patience and remained composed even during tense situations. He was soft spoken. He did not tailor his speech as per the occasion. He used to raise extremely serious issues in frank, dignified and restrained manner. He would put forth fundamental issues. Today, the prominent leaders give self contradictory speeches on the same issue while addressing two different meetings and in the same city to suit the mood of the crowd. They change their stand within an hour. But keeping

to one stand on an issue was the hallmark of Chandra Shekharji. That is why, he was the one and only among the crowd of leaders who did not hesitate in changing their stand just to suit the mood of the listeners. He was a serious person. He would not indulge in loose talks. He was unparalleled in upholding the dignity of as well as giving respect to others. One could share confidential things with him and he would ardently maintain the confidentiality. One might be his most bitter enemy and he might know one's all weak points, still he would not indulge in any loose talk. He beautifully knew how to honour his opponents.

If someone was in trouble, he would silently extend help to him. Even if his rival was in distress and in need of help, he would go and stand by him. He may not give company in happier moments but he used to be the first one to lend his shoulder in crisis or distress. There are several such incidents where he consoled the families of his colleagues who passed away and helped them overcome the grief. And he never talked about it to anyone. He had his finger on the weaknesses of his political rivals, still no one ever heard him slinging criticism on them. Innumerable people used him as a ladder to achieve success. He never parted ways with anyone but people came to him to fulfill their objectives and left him behind. In material terms such people underwent a noticeable metamorphosis.

Did such things not hurt Chandra Shekhar? I often get perturbed when I think of such things. Basically, he was a very sensitive person. His persona was cast in the mould of poetry and literature. His knowledge of history provided him strength. He averred and often said, 'look at the human history'. When great men like Gandhi could be a comma or a full stop in this journey of lakhs of years of history, where do we ordinary people stand. Paradoxically, we consider ourselves as the last epitome of history, but we tend to forget that time spares no one. He had a unique perception of 'Sanatan Dharma'. 'Time is the decisive factor', he said, there stood the same *Arjuna* holding the same *Gandiva* (Bow) when he was confronted but to no one's imagination 'Bhils' emerged victorious. Several modern political bigwigs seem to be racing against time. He used to mock the tall claims of such people.

He was Prime Minister when I went to Chennai with him. He used to get up very early in the morning. When I got up, I came to know that he had left for somewhere. He used to take care of each and every need of the person accompanying him. One could not take care of one's own self as much as he did. He never used to dine alone. He was always surrounded and flocked by people. He was a man of the masses and went along with the masses at ease. At breakfast he said that we were asleep when he

went to see the museum located at some distance from Chennai. He saw the Skeleton of Dinosaurs and several other creatures preserved there. Sighting this he wondered how dwarf and negligible human existence was in this universe.

Political culture has undergone a sea change in this age of global economy. This change saw its onset in the country with the advent of Rajiv Gandhi's era. In this age of 'corporatization of politics' (corporate political culture developed on the lines of corporate houses, where the relationship between the political leaders and workers is that of officers-owners and workers). Chandra Shekhar was the only leader who enjoyed a personal rapport with thousands of party workers. He lived among them, held lively conservation with them. No matter if he was under SPG cover or later on without the cover, he was always flocked by the crowd of party workers and the common man. He might rebuke, he might reprimand or become annoyed with them but he would always remain with the people. He did not launch his kith and kin or his relatives in politics. Now leaders run their parties on the lines of corporate houses, wherein leaders-cum-C.E.Os. (Chief Executive Officers) communicate with and address the public and the workers impersonally formally at intervals and from a distance. This is a fact and signifies the clash between two cultures. Global politics and global culture are the offshoots of global economy today but our indigenous geo-political culture is rooted in a different soil. Gandhi linked the philosophy of Indian politics with the rural culture wherein the edifice of relationship between the workers was built on human ground. This relationship passed through the bridge of sensibilities and sensitivities. The global economy now has shattered this culture even in India. Chandra Shekhar was the last pillar of that conventional Indian political culture.

There was a significant speciality about his political persona. He was intrinsically sensitive. However, he never got carried away emotionally in politics. He had been with Acharya Narendra Deva. He was associated with Jaya Prakash Narayan. He had amicable relations with Indira Gandhi. However, he never addressed them with epithets like Sun, Moon or Vivekananda as Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was adorned by the then Minister of Finance Shri V.P. Singh with these similies in Kanpur and Sanjay Gandhi was also addressed by such adjectives. He exercised his discretion with sensibility. He called a spade a spade. There was no difference between his personal belief and public stand as of late is the trend in Indian politics. Someone who preceded him as Prime Minister got himself clicked as Gandhiji, half-naked. He was also branded as Fakir . But just on the night before he took over as Prime Minister, special *Sherwani Achkan* and other clothes were got prepared by a special tailor. When

Chandra Shekhar took oath, he was clad in the same kurta, waistcoat and slippers. Then Madhu Limaye made a very positive observation on Chandra Shekhar's reluctance to change his attire in the year 1990. It was not merely an issue of changing his attire. It gave an insight into a person's life style, ideology and personality.

After assuming the office of Prime Minister, Vishwanath Pratapji said that he would travel like a common man. After this announcement he only once went to Patna by the service plane while for most of the time the entire plane was booked in advance. Similarly, that he wanted not to get SPG cover was made known to the public through a campaign in order to project a nice moral image. But till the end, he remained under SPG cover. But it was not the case with Chandra Shekhar. One must question as to why our big leaders make such announcements when they cannot implement them. It is not so that these leaders do not know the nitty-gritty of the system. Then why such announcements? Why this duality of character? It is unfortunate that the top leaders of the country indulge in mere slogan mongering? A relationship of trust and loyalty is necessary.

Long time back I read a letter of Abraham Lincoln. That letter was addressed to a teacher of the primary school where his son used to study. This letter was exceptional, a heritage for the human society. In the letter Lincoln emphasized on the kind of education he desired to be imparted to his son. In the letter he wrote that such education should be imparted to his son that instilled in him a sense of discretion, energy and unshattered faith in his own ideas and beliefs till the end notwithstanding the fact that these might generate worldwide opposition and he is all alone. The leaders shaping the destiny of the world also have a speciality. They do not get carried away by public sentiment and do not follow the crowd when everyone is jumping on the bandwagon. They have the courage to take unpopular decisions and do not determine their policies in accordance with the grammar of votes, Government formation and crowd following. In recent years, Indira Gandhi stood this test and thereafter it was Chandra Shekhar.

When the Jaya Prakash movement was launched, Chandra Shekhar publicly warned Indiraji not to be in conflict with Jaya Prakash Naryan. He also paid the price for it. He told Jaya Prakash that the concept of complete revolution was not clear. He also said that an ideal society could not be formed with the kind of people associated with the movement. It is now a matter of research as to how much gain or loss has been suffered by Indian politics by the breed of politicians born out of the JP movement. Whenever the country confronted a critical question and a straightforward or decisive statement was needed, no name other than Chandra Shekhar comes to mind. During anti-Sikh riots (after the assassination of Indira

Gandhi) he was the only voice of discretion. His warnings against the Operation Blue Star proved to be the observations of a seer. The country paid a very heavy price for it. And, for his straightforwardness, some Congress people under the leadership of Arun Nehru camped in Ballia and raised slogans like *'Ballia Ka Bhinderanwala'* and used the Government machinery to defeat him in the 1984 Lok Sabha elections.

The politicians used his historical stand on Operation Blue Star and anti-Sikh riots against him. However, what price did the country pay? Today, the same masses, the people, the leaders unanimously say that Chandra Shekhar was a farsighted leader. He had courage to speak his mind.

The Government of Vishwanath Pratap Singh was his own party's Government. He was the lone voice which opposed sending of Jag Mohan to Kashmir, the framing of industrial policy by Ajit Singh bowing to the wishes of big industrial houses and the policy of opposition of democratic powers in Nepal. He has been the sole voice of discretion against parochial politics. He categorically enumerated the dangers of religious and caste based politics. He also sounded the country against judicial activism. His countrywide march (yatra) to protest the economic policies and World Trade Organisation was an extension of his initial policies. Be it the growing influence of capitalistic monopoly of Birlas in politics, strengthening of public sector (steps like nationalization of banks or abolition of privy purse) or new monetary policies, he solely remained active. How has the modern financial policy created huge economic disparity in various states? What are its possible dangers? How have many small industries been closed down? What has been the extent of growth of unemployment — he was the only voice raising such questions. He deeply studied the disparity growing from the new monetary policy. He prepared a serious note on it during the last phase of his life and organized a dialogue.

It was not that he was known for taking courageous stands only. The country is not aware of his creative prowess. He has all alone taken several unbelievable initiatives. Today, this creativity is no longer found in any leader. Bharat Yatra Kendra or Bhuvaneshwari Ashram and Shahid Smarak of Ballia are actually the oasis (nakhalistan) of the creative talent of Chandra Shekhar on the barren, desert and hilly terrain of the country. He had no big organization or big capitalistic force to bank upon. Funds were collected through charity. He himself used to work in scorching heat, carried bricks with party workers for hours and performed menial jobs like cleaning. He had a unique vision for construction. Each *Bharat Yatra Kendra* built on deserted and rocky lands could be subjects of a book.

Building monument at the birthplace of Jaya Prakashji is like a miracle as if planting green grass on a rock. This village is located between two rivers—the Ganga and the Ghaghra. Boat was the only means of transport. Jaya Prakash himself used to cross the river and then walk on foot or ride an elephant to reach home. There was no hospital, road or a good school there. It was a village that remained submerged in floodwaters for 4 to 5 months a year. There was no means of transport. It took at least a full day to commute to nearby cities-district centres like Arrah, Chhapra or Ballia.

Today, that village has received a make-over. There are roads, good schools, a girl's college. There is safety from floods and above all there is a wonderful monument of JP, a magnificent library in his ancestral house and a self employment-training centre run by the Khadi Gram Udyog Board.

Criminals had captured the ancestral house of Rajendra Babu. The house was turning into ruins and there was nothing significant left there. Nitish Kumar took interest and got the memorial of Rajendra Babu restored. It has been learnt that Porbandar, the birthplace of Gandhiji is at the mercy of the criminals. The school in which Gandhi studied has turned into ruins and is on the verge of closure. In such a scenario the unique monument of JP is a living model of the labour, resolve and creativity of Chandra Shekhar and it was made special by Jaya Prakashji's close associate Jagdish Babu who was a freedom fighter and an emblem of sacrifice, honesty and simplicity.

Chandra Shekhar always used to say that we did not need to beg before anyone. Edmond Burk (British politician and writer) had remarked long ago that a true politician always contemplated on extracting maximum gains from the existing resources of the country and ensuring progress.

While he was the Prime Minister, a unique scheme *Rachna Vahini* was drafted. As the Government did not remain in office, the scheme could not take off. Chandra Shekhar made a proposal through the Planning Commission. He addressed all the Vice-Chancellors of the country through the forum of the University Grants Commission. He presented the draft for the constitution of *Rachna Vahini*. He addressed the teachers of the universities. He told the teachers that after *Rachna Vahini* is constituted they would have to compulsorily devote their time for the villages. They should go to the villages and reside there. Youth power should be devoted to educate people and make barren land arable. The youth should bestow their efforts and creativity in nation building. There are hundreds of universities and thousands of colleges in our country. The number of students and teachers may be in crores. When the youth power will march forward to build this country, its effect in terms of nation building will be enormous.

In the media, Chandra Shekhar used to be projected as a villain. There were reasons behind it. Capitalist forces against whom he had been politically aggressive for the last sixty years, control the media and decided the voice of media. It is the capitalists who decide what to accord priority or what to marginalise be it any particular political ideology, individual, organisation or issues. Chandra Shekhar made his own place despite the capitalist forces and its media power. He was not at the mercy of the media. Not only this, after Indira Gandhi, he was the only Prime Minister who could use harsh words while addressing journalists. The Prime Ministers succeeding Indira Gandhi (excluding Chandra Shekhar) have developed a peculiar expertise in media management. Be it V.P. Singh or Vajpayee, they maintained personal relations with big media houses and prominent journalists. They were well-versed in this art of taking favour of the media and knew as to when, where and from whom it could be taken. A list showing the names of prominent journalists receiving huge funds from the Government treasury with the help of political leaders had come out in the open a few years ago.

Bhuvneshwari Ashram of Chandra Shekhar was much talked about in the courts and in the newspapers. But, one aspect of that Ashram remained undiscussed that is his capacity to make even barren land suitable for habitation. There is no mention of all those heavy weight politicians, bureaucrats and capitalists who have big farm houses from Delhi to Himachal Pradesh as they belong to the elite (ruler) class. How did these private farm houses come up? From where did they get the money, how was the land procured? What is happening there? It is good to have public discussion on the land and institutions under *Bharat Yatra Kendra Trust*, but why are they maintaining silence on the farm houses acquired through wrong means? These issues were not raised even in the courts. As Chandra Shekhar was against the elite class, so he was harassed but the same yardstick was not applied to those who have been building private empires. The Government obliges them and in turn prominent personalities in media oblige their favourite political leaders. From the initial stages itself, Chandra Shekhar kept himself away from the campaign of making journalists a Member of Parliament, and the practice of financing for bringing out newspapers and competition to enhance their clout and interference in the channels. When his Government was in power, policies being carried out from the times of Congress Governments were discontinued. What should be the breaking news, what should be the news headlines it was all left to Doordarshan and All India Radio. No restrictions were imposed on them. There were no checks before broadcasting in order to assist the image building of the Government or the Prime Minister. He stopped the culture of flattery and sycophancy. Today, the situation has changed. From Delhi to the small towns, leaders first try to gain expertise in media-management.

In the current system of politics, serious issues and subjects are missing. It becomes clear when one sees the standard of discussion in the Parliament. Long time back Chandra Shekhar had stated that when he reached Parliament for the first time he came in contact with eminent leaders whose names, statements and views were used as headlines in the newspapers. Chandra Shekhar said that he was surprised to find such leaders most of the time discussing the colour of curtains and cushions etc. of their drawing rooms, whether they matched properly. They also discussed their latest acquisitions and also the items to be imported from foreign countries. Chandra Shekhar said that he was astonished to find that in a country where half of its population was living below the poverty line, its so-called guardians were leading a life of luxury.

In today's context, one should give a thought to this statement of Chandra Shekhar. The number of MPs who are millionaires is on the rise. Interference of corporate houses in politics, competition among the rulers of the country to own latest luxurious items are increasing. If these things are clear, then one can very well realize the reason behind the decreasing standard of debates in Parliament.

The fundamental principle of democracy and a democratic society is to maintain dignity even while one is in opposition. We are talking about the time when as a Young Turk Chandra Shekhar attacked the policies of Morarji Bhai. Tarakeshwariji was a staunch supporter of Morarji. She launched counter attack on Chandra Shekhar by writing a series of articles. Some persons provided Chandra Shekhar some personal documents related to her but Chandra Shekhar never used it against her. Tarkeshwariji was also aware of this fact. Later on, when she was faced with some serious crisis in her personal life, Chandra Shekhar saved her from the distress by assisting her. But, he was never in the habit of discussing such things. Many stalwarts including Jagjivan Ram reposed faith in him at the time of crisis.

The last rites of JP were performed at Bansghat in Patna. Seeing the presence of Sanjay Gandhi and Indira Gandhi a group of young men suddenly became agitated. Chandra Shekhar ran after them and caught hold of them. Taking position amidst them, he calmed them and saved the situation. His words revealed that he held Indira Gandhi in high esteem. There wasn't an iota of bitterness for her. In today's politics, when even a small dispute often leads to a question of life and death, it was indeed an act of inspiration to follow such a practice (respect towards opponents) in politics.

In another context, he was different from all the other living leaders. He had deep understanding of Indianness, the intrinsic qualities of India

and those things of the past which were worthy to be emulated in the present. Moreover, the viewpoint and context in which he used to explain them were remarkable. Whether it was the issue of cleaning of the rivers of India, vanishing of the Ganges, rejuvenation movement for the Yamuna and the Ghaghra, cleaning of places of pilgrimage, restoration of Bhitharva in Champaran, the places where Gandhi stayed or developing centres related to the life of great persons for others to get inspiration from or rebuilding national heritage, he was gifted with a sense of concern and foresightedness. He travelled the country extensively from North to South and from East to West on foot and by car. No other leader could have done this.

Today, when I remember Chandra Shekharji, lot of memories come to my mind, beginning from the earlier days of his struggle. It reminds me of the lines of his *'Meri Jail Diary'* which depict his self-esteem and unflinching commitment. He has written about his past and has mentioned somewhere how he used to wash his utensils himself in Lucknow Party Office, and several days of fasting. The mention of one such incident keeps on coming to the mind. Chandra Shekharji, in his *'Jail Diary'* registers the experience of fasting in Party Office (Lucknow) on the occasion of 'Holi'. The memory of demonstrations and meetings, arrest of two persons (one was he himself and the other his friend Om Prakash Srivastava) protesting for labourers in front of a mill in Meerut, of a student leader and lone flag-bearer of the party in a meeting held in Allahabad, when he went to receive the famous journalist DF Karka who was coming to Allahabad from Mumbai, appreciation of English and the content of the press release prepared as an organization leader of Praja Socialist Party by the veteran journalist Chalpati Rao (Editor of the National Herald) and the inquiry about young Chandra Shekhar comes to my mind. I also visualize his role as a Young Turk, attack on him in Gujarat-Maharashtra, Chandra Shekhar who brought the subject of economic policy to the forefront of debate in the country, the person who raised the questions of Privy Purse and nationalisation of banks and debated for eight hours on one word in Congress Working Committee of Mumbai etc. when all the stalwarts were on one side and Chandra Shekhar was alone on the other side. Indiraji postponed the meeting at midnight after inviting everybody for dinner. There is another image of Chandra Shekhar when the editorial of his magazine 'Young Indian' used to become the banner headlines of newspapers. One more image of Chandra Shekhar emerges when he was elected to the Congress Working Committee after securing maximum number of votes in Shimla Congress Session (1972) by defeating the official candidate of Indiraji or of a Chandra Shekhar whose image, attitude, straightforwardness and the issues raised by him in the meetings of the Congress Working Committee

had compelled the so called Chanakya of Congress Dwarka Mishra to alert other persons in a meeting of the Congress Working Committee (though Pandit Mishra came to this meeting for the last time). The background of that meeting was such that Congressmen were against him after knowing his views on Bihar movement or JP. Panditji had warned the members of the Congress Working Committee and advised them to keep in mind before taking on

'Chah Gayi, Chinta Miti, Manua Beparwah
Ja ko kachhu na chahiye, wah Shah-na-ko-Shah'

Pandit Mishra who was sitting there who warned Chandra Shekhar,

Khul khelo Sansar mein, Bandhi Sake na Koi,
Ghat Jakati Kya Kare, Jo Sir Bojh no Hoye.

Chandra Shekharji always remembered these lines of Pandit Drawka Prasad Mishra. At times he used to recollect those lines while in leisure and in his quiet personal moments.

Image of Chandra Shekharji as a Congressman emerges in the mind who had publicly forewarned Indiraji during her heydays (when the President of Congress Party had declared that 'Indira is India and India is Indira') that Indiraji should not confront the power of a sage Jaya Prakash because the results would be devastating for her. And during those days Congressmen had declared Jaya Prakash a fascist but when Jaya Prakash was called on tea at Chandra Shekhar's residence, 60 Congress Members of Parliament also reached there. It raised a storm in the country. Amongst those Congress Members of Parliament who were present there was Maya Ray, an MP and the wife of the most trusted lieutenant of Indiraji's Siddharth Shanker Ray. It may be recalled that on the next day a clarification of Siddharth Shanker Ray came that his wife (Maya Ray) did not know that Jaya Prakash was coming to the house of Chandra Shekhar. Next day a statement of Chandra Shekhar was the banner of headline of English Newspapers in which he said that he might have some weakness but possessed the moral strength to say the truth. All the Members of Parliament who were present there knew it fully well that they were to have tea and hold talks with Jaya Prakash. At this the Congress people did not speak a word. Some people of Janata Party administration were hell-bent on getting the Government accommodation of Indiraji vacated. It was he who took an independent stand against them. Chandra Shekhar who went on *Bharat Yatra* was defeated from Ballia in 1984 as a result of negative canvassing calling him the *Bhindrawale* of *Ballia*. After that Chandra Shekhar was engaged all alone in organising JP Monument without any available resources for this purpose. In 1982-83 when Indiraji was asked to name a leader who had the capability to lead the nation and had the understanding of the

needs of the country, the first name which she mentioned was that of Chandra Shekhar. Images of Chandra Shekhar becoming Prime Minister with the help of only 50 Members of Parliament, the lone voice of dissent in 1991 on the new economic policy in Lok Sabha undertaking a nationwide car journey on the issue of Dunkel-GATT accord and images of his organizing debate travelling every nook and corner of the country come to my mind. Likewise, many such images emerge of Chandra Shekhar who held centrestage of politics in the country for three decades.

But of all these images, the image of his last days comes to my mind. Those who rose in politics by taking his help had left him and the person who remained at the top for four decades looking over the affairs of the country was left alone in the end. In this situation, he showed the same self-confidence, attitude and self-esteem which, in other cases, fade away when people once at the helm of affairs are left alone. But Chandra Shekhar was made of different clay who lived according to his own convictions and practised politics on his own terms. How many such personalities are there in today's politics?

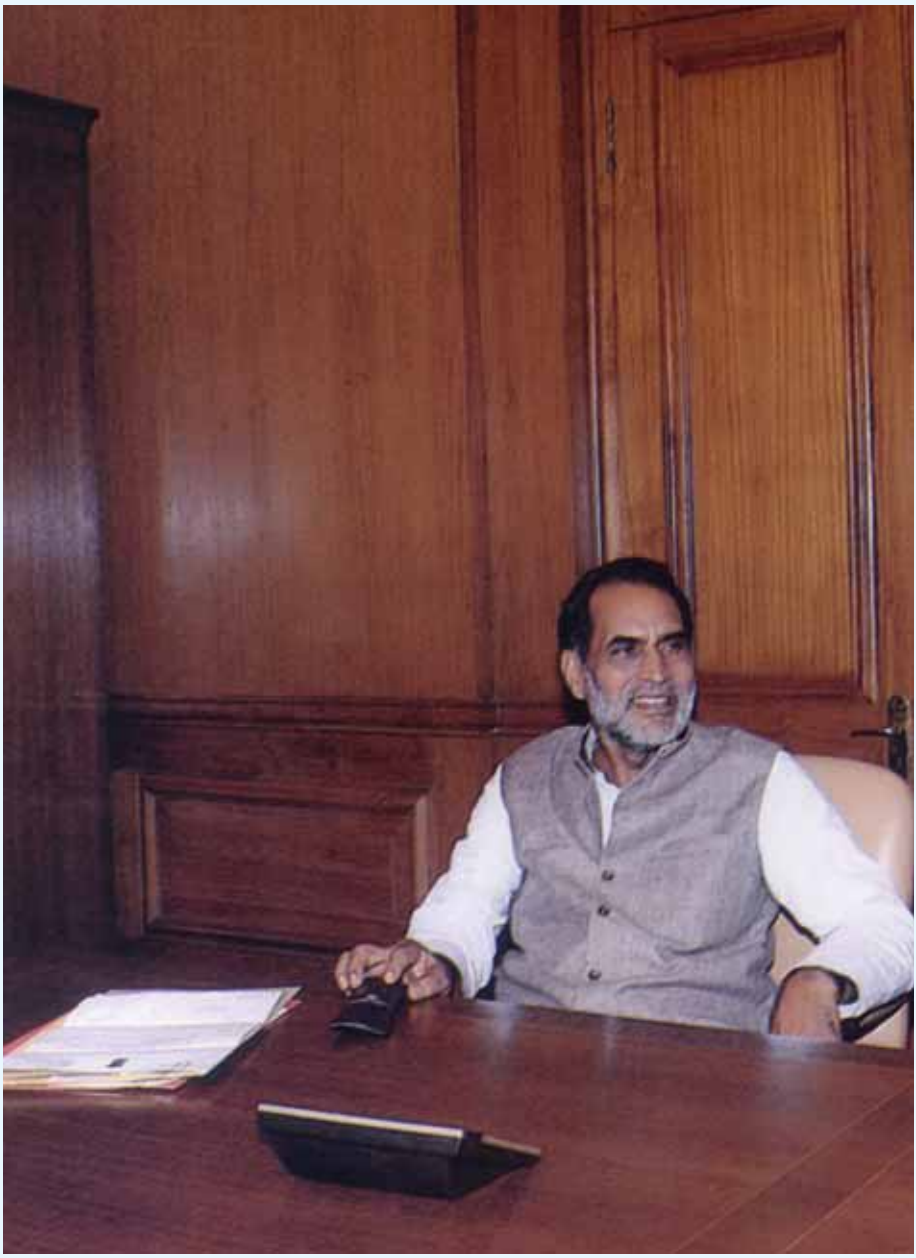
The bold decisions which he took in his short tenure as Prime Minister were far-reaching and such decisions can be taken by the one who has the strength of conviction. The crisis of 1991 comes to mind. The situation of insolvency did not arise abruptly. The economic crisis was the result of faulty economic policies and corruption going on for past 30 years. But Rajiv Gandhi and Vishwanath Pratap Singh both the Prime Ministers kept the files pending deliberately related to this crisis since 1987. No decision was taken. When Chandra Shekhar became Prime Minister, Bimal Jalan came to him with that file. Within two or three days of his taking charge Chandra Shekharji asked him if that file was kept for him all these years. The answer was in the negative and it was clarified that all the former Prime Ministers saw it but no decision was taken.

Economic commentator Jayatirath Rao wrote sometime after his demise that the nation was dreaming of becoming an economic superpower after liberalisation. Had Chandra Shekharji not saved the country from the economic crisis in 1991, the nation would have become bankrupt.

Whenever I think of his personality I am often reminded of the few lines that he had recited to me at the Mumbai Airport a few decades ago:

Maidane Inteha Se Ghabra Ke Hat Na Jana,
Takmeel Jindagi Hai, Choton Pe Chot Khana,
Ab Ahle Gulistan Ko Shayad Na Ho Shikayat,
Maine Bana Liya Hai, Kanton Mein Ashiyana.

Being sworn in as Prime Minister, Rashtrapati Bhawan, 10 November 1990



At his Office, New Delhi, 10 November 1990

With President Shri R. Venkataraman and Deputy Prime Minister, Shri Devi Lal, Rashtrapati Bhawan, 10 November 1990

Greeting the distinguished guests at the Republic Day Parade, 26 January 1991

Paying homage to Mahatma Gandhi at Rajghat, 30 January 1991

Paying homage at the Amar Jawan Jyoti, 26 January 1991

Chairing the Planning Commission Meeting, New Delhi, 26 February 1991

At a meeting with Scientific Advisory Committee, Department of Bio-technology, New Delhi, 17 December 1990

With members of the Minorities Commission, New Delhi, 5 January 1991

Being interviewed by Mr. Mark Tully, Chief of Bureau, BBC,
New Delhi, 19 June 1991

PART III
HIS SELECT SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT

NATIONAL POLICY FRAME WORK

WELFARE STATE: DUTIES OF THE GOVERNMENT*

Madam, Deputy Chairperson, I congratulate the President for drawing attention to those sections of the Constitution under which we have taken oath. We have taken oath to continuously strive to elevate the social and political life of the country. In fact, I would like to step back to reflect as to what would have happened when the concept of State came to the mind of man for the first time? Man surrendering and forsaking his own rights created an organization which we know as State. The concept of State in 19th century was of Police State. At that time, Herbert Spencer and others had specified that the responsibility of the State and the Government is to safeguard the people from internal turmoil and external aggression. In ancient time, when the concept of State came into being, there were two primary duties of the State. One was that internal turmoil should not happen and secondly, external attack should also not be allowed to happen. When the issue of welfare State came up in 20th century in the country as well as in the whole world, then these two fundamental concepts were kept intact and the functions of State were increased.

I regret to say this, that I have heard in this House many a time that we could not prepare ourselves for war against China because we were busy in infrastructural works. We could not fight against China because we wanted to lift ourselves above illiteracy, poverty and starvation. The credit of expressing this new dimension, this philosophy, and this new principle with regard to the responsibilities of the State goes to our Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It is said with pride throughout the world that we are a peaceful nation, we belong to the country of Mahatma Gandhi. We are a gentle nation. I would like to tell you that the first and foremost duty of State and the Government is to provide security to the country and if the Government fails to do this, then that Government can not promote civilization and peace in the world. Security comes prior to the propagation of civilization and peace. We have to take this challenge against China in this context. I am surprised that a mention was made in President's address as to how we were deceived by a country with whom we established friendship and how we were attacked all of a sudden. How long we would continue to say this? This was not a sudden attack. Years back, the country was aware that the people from China are going to attack us. I am a

* Participating in the Debate on Motion of Thanks to President's Address, Rajya Sabha Debate, 20 February 1963, cc. 339-362.

humble worker of Praja Socialist Party. In the month of November-December 1957, I had written a letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, Shri Sampoornanand that Chinese are gathering in Taklakot. The Chinese are misguiding people living close to the U.P. border. Please be cautious and deploy our people. That letter of mine was not replied to. Then I wrote a letter to the Chief Secretary, Uttar Pradesh that Shri Sampoornanand might have been thinking that I was playing politics. You are a senior officer of the Government. You should take action in this regard. The letter from the Chief Secretary would still be available with me. He had replied that my letter was being looked into by the secret police. Then, in the year 1959, it should have been clear to the country when an article appeared in "People's Daily" in 1959 titled 'Revolution in Tibet and Nehru's philosophy'. I would not like to cite it because of paucity of time. What did it say? It was directly said that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was an imperialist agent. Hon'ble Bhupesh Guptaji is not present here. Today Bhupesh Guptaji has an intense sympathy for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The article appears in "People's Daily" on 6 May, 1959 and Shri Bhupesh Gupta maintained silence upto 8 September, 1962. Our friends from Congress say that we suddenly came in danger. If I do not have that amount of sympathy with Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru like you even then you should have been enlightened on 6 May, 1959. Still we were shouting slogans of brotherhood and co-existence. Our communist friends might recall that a conference had been held in Moscow on warsaw powers and Russia and China had a conflict over the issue of co-existence and then China attacked Russia. In April 1960, a Communist newspaper of China 'Red Flag' had written in its editorial: "We believe in absolute correctness of Leninist thinking. War is inevitable".

This article is very long. I would not go through it. Even after this article was published in the newspaper 'Red Flag', the Congress Government did not open its eyes and said that India was attacked suddenly.

Let me tell you that when the issue of giving autonomy to Dalai Lama was being discussed, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had assured the people of Tibet that their autonomy would continue, but it did not continue. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had stated at least seven times in Parliament that we were with the people of Tibet. He did not pay attention to the issue of borders and the autonomy of Tibet when he was signing the treaty on Tibet. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was showing sympathy when the people of Tibet were being killed. Today, I would like to know from you through this House whether these points need to be repeated? Why were all these things done? Today, one of our friends said, somebody said, yes, Hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta said that they talked of war. They were warmongers. I am happy. I compliment the Law Minister for having said openly in the House that the issue of China is a military matter and this issue can be solved

through military. The Law Minister expressed strong will by making this statement but when I think over it in the context of Prime Minister's view, it surprises me. We are told while discussing the Motion on Colombo powers and at all time that if we talk like this, we would be considered uncivilized. Discussion is never denied in the civilized countries. I do not have much knowledge of history but so far as I remember—correct me if I am wrong, that De Vallera had refused to shake hands with the Prime Minister of England saying that his hands were stained with the blood of our martyrs. Is it not correct ? When I was a student, it was widely publicised in India, when Prime Minister Nehru, he was not the Prime Minister at that time, he was a leader and had said that "we will not talk to Mussolini because his hands are stained with the blood of innocent people". I do not know whether Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was saying something non-sense. I do not know, whether this act of Pandit Nehru was childish. I understand that Pandit Nehru was advocating a principle. The House and this Nation should pay attention towards this if those principles are not being advocated after coming into power.

I would also like to say in this context that opportunities arise once in a while in this world and when such opportunities knock at the door of every man, every Nation, it becomes pertinent to accept the challenge. Deputy Chairperson Madam, you may recall when England was in distress, the poet laureate, national poet of England, Rudyard Kipling had to say to the world:

"Once more we hear the word
That sickened the earth of old:
No law except the sword,
Unsheathed and uncontrolled".

Do you feel that Rudyard Kipling was an uncivilized man? Do you feel that Rudyard Kipling had less sympathy for the layman? But the circumstances compelled him. The poet was compelled to say so. Just now, one of our friends from Congress made a mention of Mahabharata. Eventually, there came a time when Krishna had to say:—

"Hato Va Prapsyasi Swargam Jitva Va bhokshyase Mahim;
Tasmaad uttishtha Kaunteya Yuddhaya Kritanishchayah!!"

"O Arjun, resolve to fight, you will go to heaven if you die while fighting and if you survive after war, you would live in the world with dignity."

On 14 November, 1962, our Parliament had reiterated the same feeling of Rudyard Kipling and the message of Gita, but the Prime Minister, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and the Government, I charge, it tried to undermine

that feeling. He said that these six countries would get angry with us if we do not accept the Colombo resolutions. I would like to remind you-elderly members present here that this issue was raised in August, 1942, when 'Quit India' resolution was moved in the All India Working Committee of Congress and also at the time when the slogan "Do or Die" was raised. The person known as messenger of peace had said at that time that America and China supported our freedom. If in time of war, we fight against the British, what will China and America say? What did Mahatma Gandhi say? Mahatma Gandhi had said — I do not care what America or China will say. I worry about what history will say. I have taken the responsibility to make history. I remember, when General Secretary of our party, Shri Narayan Ganesh Gore sent a letter to Mahatma Gandhi in Aga Khan Mahal to break his fast as his life was precious for the country. Deputy Chairperson Madam, what was the reply of Mahatma Gandhi? Gandhiji asked him not to preach if he had passion for revolution and rather came to Aga Khan palace to join him and commit "hara-kiri" for the freedom of the country. When I have given the slogan of 'Do or Die' it means do and die. Such are the architects of the Nation. They have firm determination. They do not change their opinions. They do not change their decisions overnight. I am sorry to say that the Government changes its decisions everyday. It can do something else, but can not lead the country to war. I say this as such issues often come before us. A slogan had come up when the question of war was raised. I am unable to understand. I have also been a student of politics. Leave aside the question of war; every speaker says: Non-alignment has stood the test of time. What does it mean? Where is the question of non-alignment? Except a few people, everybody said that policy of non-alignment is correct, but what is the meaning of non-alignment. Are we non-aligned in case of China? So far as Russia and America are concerned, power blocks are concerned, we have neutral policy for them. If there is a conflict between them, we will take decision according to the circumstances, but will we have such mindset with regard to China. Why is all this fuss? Why all this misunderstanding. This is because China is not only our enemy, but an ally of Russia also and being an ally of Russia, if we take some tough steps against China, I feel as Hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta was saying, Russia will get angry. I do not know how long will our friendship with Russia continue if our friendship with Russia is of this nature.

One more point is being raised strongly which I do not understand that some foreign countries are pressurising us on the issue of Kashmir. A lady, I would not like to name her, who holds a high office and commands the respect of the whole Nation, while delivering a lecture in Lucknow University, said that we will not give Kashmir in lieu of Ladakh. I do not know what will the people think who are with you today if a responsible person whether man or woman, gives such a statement. I do not say that you

should favour such persons. It has been said in our scriptures that the person who does not consider friends as his friend or enemies as his enemy is a fool and a mean person. I do not know whether these persons are fools or mean, but surely they are either of the two. Either they do not understand or they are doing it deliberately — the word is on my mind but I would not utter it, they are far away from the reality.

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I would definitely want to maintain our relationship with Soviet Union but we must be careful in understanding the Communist philosophy. Hon'ble Lal Bahadur Shastriji once said in this very House that the people of Jan Sangh were nowhere in Freedom Struggle and Communists are hundred per cent patriot. He had said that his Government was capable of getting the support of Communists for that proposal. I have deep respect for Lal Bahadur Shastriji but I would like to mention with all humility that either he has not read the history of Communist Party or even after reading the same he has not tried to understand that. I would definitely like to read out an excerpt from the latest draft of 22nd Congress of Communist Party of Russia. Now, Communist Party says in Soviet Union:

> "The success of the struggle which the working class wages for the victory of the revolution will depend on how well the working class and its party master the use of all forms of struggle-peaceful and non-peaceful, Parliamentary and extra-parliamentary and how well they are prepared to replace one form of struggle by another as quickly and unexpectedly as possible."

Thus, the Soviet Union have instructed the Communist Party to have faith in both the forms.

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Madam Deputy Chairperson, you, I and the entire country have to think over the attitude of the Communist Party. When we oppose the Communist Party, it is not that we have some personal differences and we are competing with each other for political gains. But we should think about basic facts. So far as the statement of Communist Party and its leaders are concerned, there are 104 members of the Communist Party in All India General Council, 42 members are in Jail and no unanimity emerges even after the proposal is passed by 62 members. You can simply understand the attitude of the Communist Party. When I once said that they did not believe in all these things, hon'ble leader of Communist Party Bhupesh Gupta got angry with me. But I would not like to quote anybody about Communist Party. There is a book written by P.C. Joshi who is still one of their reputed leaders.

* Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel.

P.C. Joshi had written a letter to his Central Committee on 11 February 1950 and he was having differences with the leaders of Communist Party at that time. He had written about those leaders:—

> "They are liars, cold-blooded liars. They make false statements without a blush. They suppress true evidence without a prick of conscience."

This is a certificate of a leader of Communist Party about his colleagues. There are a number of things in it which I am not going to mention here as I do not have time. I would like to urge upon you to convey my request to the Home Minister Saheb to read the history of the Communist Party of India again afresh, if not that of Communism of the whole world once again. I would also like to point out that this is not a fight of arms and diplomacy only. It is being fought on another front also which is usually being mentioned by Bhupesh Gupta—crores of people of this country are hungry today and they are having some post independence dreams and they need to be fulfilled. We have to reply to the Communist Party on this front also. If we would not be able to fulfil the aspirations of the people we don't know how far we can fight for the same. I would like to urge upon you that we have to bring internal matters of the country in this sphere. While we require external security, at the same time we have to focus on internal conditions. I am sorry to say that our government failed on this front also. The reason is not that they do not want to act. Their intention is not clear. Their goal is not clear. They talk about socialism but the Prime Minister of India, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru is confused in international matters and his vision in internal matters is also not clear. I have deep regard for Pt. Jawaharlalji. I quote from the book of such a person whose integrity is beyond doubts. He is Tibor Mende, famous author of 'China and her Shadow'. He has written a book on Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru which has been widely acclaimed and translated into fourteen languages. He has glorified Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru.

Now, what he says. Talking about all the problems of India particularly in the context of China he said that India will have to face dire consequences of its sluggish approach in resolving the issues of the poor. He sympathizes with us but this is what he said:—

> "Mr. Nehru, Indian by birth but his formation deeply marked by British liberal ideas, has tended to act as he was the first Indian Viceroy of independent India. He has been more concerned to stabilize than to prepare internal forces for fast enough change. His task would not have been easy. Yet, in the existing coalition of the forces of conservation, nobody else has commanded or is likely to command in the foreseeable future any comparable degree of authority or the trust of the masses. Whatever external prestige his statesmanship could gain for India, it does not compensate for unsolved basic problems at home."

You can see that Tibor Mende has praised Nehruji but he has also mentioned about his limitations. When we talk of those limitations our friend Bhupesh Guptaji says:—

'Reactionary forces are gaining ground. You must be careful.'

What happens ? It is a misfortune of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress and the country itself that all the responsibilities have been given in the hands of a single person—this is only Jawaharlalji who will be responsible for the progress or downfall of the country.

It has been repeatedly said during the recent past that emergency power in this country will be used for two purposes. It was once used to suppress the voices against Nehruji. Secondly, it was used to praise Nehruji. Three persons from Delhi were arrested for criticizing Nehruji. These persons were nationalist and did not commit any crime; they only criticized Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. But on the other hand you should keep in mind that Bhupesh Gupta is very angry on the arrest of a number of Communists. However, he did not mention the release of Teja Singh Swatantra in Punjab after the intervention of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. I am not saying on my own.

Madam, I personally know that a bank dacoity took place in Ramnagar (U.P.) in which two people were killed and lakhs of rupees looted and 15 people have been serving imprisonment for life. Prime Minister Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, who is a symbol of decency and decorum, has written a letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh asking him to withdraw the case against them and release them. He has refused to do so as the Ministry of Home Affairs and Judiciary are not ready for this. Second letter was written and the Government of Uttar Pradesh was forced to release the man, guilty of dacoity-cum-murder. For what? For encouraging sober element in the Communist Party? Secretary of Communist Party of Punjab, Surjeet Singh has recently resigned from the Secretaryship of Communist Party on China issue. The case of murder and dacoity against Teja Singh Swatantra was withdrawn just to counteract Shri Surjeet. This is emergency power. Such is the condition of law and injustice. I would like to know from you whether we can establish the rule of equality, freedom and socialism with these views as expressed by the Hon'ble President in his address. Are these thoughts helpful in taking us forward? I would also like to point out that Five Year Plans, which are being talked about a lot, are not contributing to the progress of the country. Take the case of agriculture, Congress has been saying all along since 1930, 1932 that land reforms should be implemented and land should be in possession of its tiller.

It was said not only once but ten times in the resolution of the Congress Committee. What is the situation today? It is evident from the figures of National Sample Survey that those, not able to cultivate are holding most

of the land. 75 per cent farmers in our country are such who are either landless or having less than one acre of land. This is the picture of entire India which shows amazing success achieved by this Government during the last fifteen years. 45 per cent of the agriculturist population of this country is having only one percent share in total land. 30 per cent people are in possession of 15.6 per cent land. 12.5 per cent people are in possession of 17.34 per cent land. 11.54 per cent people are those who are holding 46 per cent land and one per cent people are holding 20 per cent of total land. This is the scenario of land reforms in this country.

So far as production is concerned I would not go in the figures as I have already taken much time. I would like to point out that total agricultural income of our country is ₹ 1700 crores, out of which income of three per cent people is ₹ 462 crore that is 27 per cent. Such is the division of agricultural income of this country. These are not my figures. These are the figures of K.L. Raj Saheb who is the Director of Delhi School of Economics. You must be knowing that he is not a member of our party and he is not against the Government. Not only this, income of the landless people decreased and burden of debt has increased. All these things are mentioned in Government report.

Now, I would like to talk about Community Development which is being talked about very much. What happens in Community Development and Panchayati Raj. Recently a survey had been conducted in Punjab. People with the income of more than ₹ 300, who counts 12.2 per cent of the population of whole of Punjab, are holding 41.7 per cent seats in Panchayat Samiti of Punjab. People with income less than ₹ 150 are 62.9 per cent. But only 26.3 per cent of these people could manage to enter the Panchayats. This is the situation in Panchayats. Not only this but Dr. S.C. Dube, Director in Mussoorie Institute says:—

> "Nearly 70 per cent of its benefits went to the elite group and the more affluent and influential agriculturists."

This is the situation in this country. Tibor Mende Saheb thinks otherwise. Please forgive me for quoting such a thing. But try to understand the feeling of the people of the country. The country feels the same way as a learned man feels without prejudice. In view of the rules and reformative laws framed in this country Shri Tibor Mende Saheb says:

> "The Major obstacles to India's agricultural progress, however, are human rather than natural. The existing economic and social structure of Indian agriculture rather than to stimulate the cultivator's initiative, tends to discourage it. The majority of legislators in India's Parliament or in her provincial assemblies are either landowners and money-lenders themselves or are spokesmen of their interests."

This is what the world opines about us. I would like to tell you that with this perception we are going to build a new society. I will sum up in a minute with a quotation and I hope you will forgive me for the same. Shri L. Prise, while writing the preface of proceedings of Council of States of 1921 states:—

> "From all this I deduce that an economic conflict is imminent between the cultivators and the industrialists of India, and that the dice are loaded in favour of the industrialists because the agricultural interests threatened are not awake to the situation, a situation which if prolonged will give everybody in India chances to improve their economic position except the people on the land, except the great majority."

This warning was given by Mr. William Jennings Bryan in his famous "Cross of Gold" speech. He had said:—

> "Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again like magic. But destroy our farms, and grass will grow over the streets of your cities."

It may be an exaggeration, but there is a bit of truth in it. Whenever this issue is raised in Parliament and in fact, Hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta enquired even today about the steps being taken by the Government to recover the amount owed by the mill owners to the farmers? Our Minister of Food says that an effort is being made for the recovery. A poor farmer is sent behind bars if he is unable to pay five rupees tax. The industrialists and sugar mill owners owe more than five crore rupees to agriculturists and what is being done by the Government for recovery of that amount. Leave it aside, the Government has been saying for the last four years that the production of sugarcane and sugar should be increased. The farmers produced more sugarcane and it was said after a couple of years to destroy the excess sugarcane. We cannot manage it. It is not the responsibility of the Government to ensure its consumption. The farmers established industries for khandsari and jaggery. What happened this year? Sugarcane was sowed in less quantity and as a result, the production of sugarcane decreased. Now the farmers are willing to convert the sugarcane into khandsari and the Government is pressurizing farmers to sell their sugarcane to mill owners. Why does it happen? Is it not because the mill owners are organized and they are dominating the Government? I agree with Shri Bhupesh Gupta that Mr. Birla and the capitalists control the Government and till the time, the Government has this mentality, it is tough to fight against China. I say this whether emphatically or not but I would like to say to you so that it is a testimony to the history that the Members belonging to Praja Socialist Party had warned the Government against China, but it was taken as a

joke. It should stand as a testimony to the people of India that the Members of the Praja Socialist Party had warned against poverty, hunger, illiteracy, unemployment and illness, but the Government did not pay heed to it.

As far as health is concerned, I would finish my point in a minute. It has said in the context of health that malaria has been eradicated from the country. Many schemes have been chalked out for the eradication of malaria, but Deputy Chairperson, Madam, you will be surprised to know that a motion moved by Dr. A.G. Faridi in U.P. Legislative Council was negatived. Dr. Faridi is a leader from our party and a famous doctor. His proposal was that children should be vaccinated against smallpox and other diseases besides malaria. The motion was discussed but it was negatived. What is the situation today? Many a thousands of people have died of smallpox in U.P. The issue of eradicating smallpox from the country is being raised, but is this the planned system? A vaccinator comes to conduct the blood test to detect malaria and returns after a period of three years for vaccination. I am unable to understand as to what kind of planning is it and which kind of health management it is? Vaccination is not a job of an expert. When a person goes to sprinkle D.D.T. for eradication of malaria, he can do vaccination as well if he has the vaccine for smallpox but no such action was taken and today our countrymen are suffering from smallpox and cholera spreading from time to time. I was surprised when I talked to the officers from Uttar Pradesh in this regard. They said that cholera had been controlled last year, but gastroentritis has spread this year. I asked them about the difference between gastroentritis and cholera? I am not expert, so I spoke with Principal of Medical College and met Dr. Faridi also and he could not understand the intricacy pointed out by the officials of health department that cholera has been eradicated, but gastroentritis is still there. Such things are said at the spur of the moment but after some time it comes to an end.

One of our friends made a mention about the fight between two States *i.e.* Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. What is happening in those cases ? These small matters have been pending for years. The border issue between Uttar Pradesh and Bihar has been under discussion since 1946. A committee was formed under the leadership of late Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant. That committee presented some findings and both the States had also agreed to it. Thereafter there were some obstacles, what happened after that ? Prime Minister was made arbitrator. He appointed C.L. Trivedi as arbitrator. Months passed by; all the files are there; papers are there, but the decision has not been taken so far.

My friends Khandekar Saheb and Chauradia Saheb are struggling for Rihand Dam. They do not know that Rihand Dam had been constructed to provide electricity for agriculture for the poor people of eastern districts.

A major portion of that electricity is being given to Birla Saheb at cheaper rate. The contract has already been signed. The agreement has been reached. Whether all this is a part of planning?

Lastly, I would like to say one more thing. Recently a team had gone to the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh to look into the matter. How did it go there? An hon'ble Member had mentioned in the other House that the economic situation of eastern districts is very bad. The wages are very low. The Prime Minister was taken aback at it. It appears as if Eastern U.P. is Newfoundland and he has seen it for the first time. A report of Foodgrains Enquiry Committee chaired by Shri Ashok Mehta was published in 1957. The Committee was constituted by the Government headed by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. The report says—I would not read it out that special investigation should be made with respect to these 15 eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh. Alongwith it, the report made a mention of Orissa, Rayalseema of Madras or some other areas, hilly areas, Bundelkhand and Madhya Pradesh. The report has a chapter titled 'Scarcity Areas'. I do not know as to why the paper is wasted and whether the Prime Minister reads it or not. A request was made to him. Three to four thousand people from Uttar Pradesh were sent to jail. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had replied at that time that those who break the law, would be sent to jail. But today, he is asking as to whether there are such eastern districts where the wages are two annas? A team consisting of four people has gone there for investigation. Now Gulzarilalji Nanda is planning to go there. I would like to say that a regional plan should be chalked out for these backward, scarcity areas.

A single team would not do. An investigation team comprising of experts should go there which may understand the problems of the area and chalk out a separate plan for backward and scarcity areas.

In the end, I would like to submit that the last sentence of the address by the President is that the country should awake and remain alert. If Prime Minister Nehru could understand the implication of these words. If only this Government could understand the spirit of these words, the future of the country would have been bright and the country and Government might have succeeded in fulfilling its duties.

DIMENSIONS OF NATION BUILDING*

Deputy Chairman Sir, I would like to draw the attention of yours and the House to a question before expressing my views on this Bill. Just now our hon'ble friend Shri Chauradiaji was speaking. He mentioned about some statement of Finance Minister in which he said that he may give good politics if he is given money. Hon'ble Chauradiaji said that one should get inspiration and it would beget money and resultantly, good politics will be there. But Hon'ble Chauradiaji said that those people should get inspiration who are in business and industries. I would like to say that the most important thing to build a country is clear vision, firm faith and strong determination. The creator of a country or a society is like a tree, whether he be an artist, poet, architect of nation. He has his roots in deep soil and he draws power from the society. On one hand it takes energy from deep soil and on the other its leaves take energy from air. The same thing is with the architect of the nation. He should be down to earth and he should have faith in the poor and at the same time he should have strong confidence in high ideals. I am sad to say that this government has no faith in lofty ideals, nor does it have identification with the poor, nor does it have will to work with them or to inspire them. Our member before has attracted attention to the issue so far as the question of taking the villages, the poor and the backwards forward on the path of progress, and this issue has been raised in the house many a times. The labourers and the poor are neglected. The idea behind domestic policy of the government manifests in its foreign policy also.

Sir, first of all I would like to draw your attention to the foreign policy of the country. What was in our mind when Shri Krishna Menon was representative at the U.N. Shri Krishna Menon used to take tea with Andry Vyshinsky saheb and regarded it as his dignity and he put this image of India before the world and he neglected small countries. I would like to congratulate Hon'ble Shri M.C. Chagla that he during his tenure as a representative at the U.N., established contacts with African Countries and practised fraternity with the smaller countries from Asia by coming out of the ambit of Britain, America and Russia in the U.N. As a representative of India in the U.N., it has created a new image of India outside India, as well as in the world.

* Participating in the Debate on Appropriation (No. 2) Bill 1964, R.S. Deb. 23 April, 1964, *cc.* 977-96 (Originally in Hindi)

But we should keep in our mind the situation in Africa. This question has been raised many a time in newspapers and magazines relating to foreign affairs. It has been described in them that the matter of India against China could not be put properly before African countries. I was going through an year old report that China has put its point before 50 per cent of African countries in a proper way but the government of Shri Jawaharlal could not put our charges and allegations against China before African countries. Today, during Question Hour Hon'ble Shri Chauradia asked, why India had no Ambassador in Myanmar for the last six months. I am pained to hear that our hon'ble Prime Minister said in excited way that the way of functioning of his government was this. It is a matter of great worry if this is the way of functioning of the government. Is there no such person in India who could be sent to Burma (Myanmar)? But the point is that our Ambassadors to foreign countries, see as to where is prosperity or comfort. They have no feeling of serving. The people are ready to go to America, Russia and Europe. They have competition amongst themselves to go there. As a general envoy they are ready to go anywhere to tour the world but are not eager to go to Burma, Nepal, Cylon and African countries. There can be no worse example of our mentality than this. I would like to request the government to ponder over this aspect. I would like to mention one thing. I do not know why this government presents Hon'ble Indira Gandhi before the world. But I am worried that hon'ble Indira Gandhi goes outside country and makes a statement that she was twice offered the External Affairs Minister's portfolio but she denied. I did not understand as to how it enhances the dignity of the country? I do not know who were the persons to offer this portfolio? It is not graceful for a civilized and dignified country and its representative to say so in a foreign country if this kind of offer was made. At least a responsible person can not say so. The portfolio of an External Affairs Minister is not a post of a peon or of an officer that one can reject because of less pay. A Foreign Affairs Minister is a symbol of dignity of a country. Howsoever great a person may be, whether she is hon'ble Indira Gandhi, or T.T. Krishnamachari or Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself, nobody has a right to say so in a foreign country that he or she was offered the portfolio of a Foreign Affairs Minister but rejected the same twice.

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Secondly, I would like to say to you that an incident took place in Delhi. The Counsellor of Israel threw a party in Ashoka Hotel to celebrate National Day of Israel. Ambassador and others joined them but suddenly it was said that at the instance of the Government of India this party was cancelled.

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The other point I would like to put forth before you that I am also willing to have friendship with Arab countries. But whether Shri Nasir Saheb or people from Arab countries had asked as to what might have happened to an Indian when Cairo had given Chou En-Lai a red carpet welcome. Shri Chou En-Lai can be welcomed in Cairo but in the democracy of India, an Ambassador/representative from abroad can not throw party in a hotel. It is against the dignity of a country to try to create trouble. I have no opposition to Arab countries. I would like to ask the government of India that a bit more understanding and dignified attitude should be adopted.

I would like to put before you the aspect of national security. Many of our friends have mentioned it. Today this question was raised during Question Hour whether we have the required number of troops or not. It was told that we have succeeded a lot. But I would like to be enlightened from any hon'ble member whether any Nation has been so grossly violated of its air space in world history as India has been.

The second thing, I would like to know whether any example in the world showing such large number of army officers killed in air crashes other than wars and enemy attack. These two jobs have been done by the Government of India after the emergency. It is okay if god alone is to be blamed. But air accidents occur many a time and high ranking officers from army die. I want to know as to why it is not looked into, as all the accidents occurred after emergency. There seems to be some thing uncanny behind it and wise steps should be taken in this regard.

I would like to mention one more point. When I asked hon'ble Defence Minister in the House whether some people are not taken in Emergency Commission due to political reasons. The reply was that it was not so. That time I had mentioned the names of two persons and said that two persons from Praja Socialist Party were called in the Emergency Commission but it was said that they would not be inducted due to security reasons. At this, hon'ble Defence Minister said that one person had been called and the other could not be called. Through you, I would like to ask hon'ble Minister that the same person went to Dehradun Academy and underwent training for six months but fifteen days back prior to getting order, he was informed that the order could not be issued to him due to security reasons and the person was removed. I do not understand when you seek cooperation from other people, from the whole country, then where would this narrow politics take you to.

I want to raise another question on communal problems. Such things are said today that a quarrel broke out in Pakistan and it had affected India. I do not deny that it might have had its impact. But there is something

wrong with the policy of the Government. I would like to say in the House with due respect that when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru introduced Hindu Code Bill in the House, his mind should have been clear that Muslim Personal Law would be amended but this was not done. Hindu Code Bill was introduced. For that I congratulate him. But Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was not ready when it came to make amendments in Muslim Personal Law. Pardon me if it makes you feel bad when I say that our Muslim friends created commotion.

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This is what I am going to say. What is the meaning of a Secular State. If it is said about Quran and Hadith then I would like to urge upon one hon'ble member that Quran also says that Government and religion can never be separated. If religion should not be separated from Government, then I would like to urge to my friend that you would feel.....

Secular State means, so far as civil rights, property rights are concerned, that it would not interfere in religion and if it interferes, then it gives an opportunity to hon'ble Chauradiaji to go to Hindus and say that this government makes amendments in Hindu Law but does not make amendments in Muslim Personal Law. What answer does Pandit Nehru have for it. What answer do we have with us.

This is the meaning of Secular State:-

Religion is the instrument of communion between man and God. No sooner it enters the domain of social, political and economic life, it becomes a dangerous concept and needs cautious approach.

I would like to say that you may make hue and cry but so long as the stanzas of Quran are recited in India, the sutras of Shankracharya would also be recited. If Quran is pious for you, then it is also pious for hon'ble Chauradiaji and hon'ble Atal Bihari Vajpayee that if they say that all the world be converted to Arya creed. Would any Government permit it? I would like to say to you with due respect that the viewpoint of the Government is not clear. There is only one way to solve the problem of communalism that all personal laws, all civil laws and property rights should be given to all Indians. There should be no difference between Hindus and Muslims. The difference of mentality would remain as long as this difference of Hindu and Muslim remains. Nobody can check it. In this very House I had once said with sorrow. How much insulting it may be, how much trouble it may create for me personally but I said that hon'ble Lal Bahadur Shastri goes to Hazratbal over theft in Kashmir and a photograph in this regard is circulated all over the world that we have done a miracle but I feel and ask you that only for this theft in Hazratbal three lakh Muslims kept roaming in the lanes of Kashmir for fifteen days and all civil administration was paralysed.

Deputy Chairman Sir, I would say what would be its result. I have no sympathy for the government of Shri Shamsuddin but it was said inside and outside the House and I was just saying to Mr. Tariq as to what he is saying. You ask the Government to resign over this issue by being a progressive person. I do not know what will Chauradiaji say tomorrow. Whether the Government of India would have to resign if an idol from a temple is stolen. Whether four Maulvis and four Pandas, if they will, would throw out the Government elected by millions of people. Four Maulvis and four Pandas create an uproar in government that an idol has been stolen from a temple as Chauradiaji just said that Hazratbal was brought but they forgot two idols stolen from a temple in Jammu. I am also sad about it. I have sympathy for him but much sympathy is with this country, for the future of the country, for the people of this country living here as a citizen.

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I would like to say one more thing in this regard that we are distressed over what is happening in East Pakistan and we have sympathy for them. I feel angry, I feel pain but on the other hand, I do not understand a few things. I was just saying to hon'ble Dahyabhai Patel as to what is our intention when Shri Golwalkar, Shri Dahyabhai Patel and leader from my party Shri H.V. Kamath organize a minority convention in Delhi? What is its meaning when all civil life, all civil administration is paralysed in this manner? It only means whether we like it or not, but if we do so, we should create such a mentality that we should seek revenge here for what is happening in East Pakistan at the hands of Muslims because we can not go there to do so. A common man of India can not attack over Pakistan. The Nehru Government is not ready to impose economic action against it. When someone is angry, he can not go to East Pakistan and he can not attack Dhaka, but he would demolish a mosque. We have to think about these events in the country and decide where are we headed to. A convention should be held here to ensure that whatever may happen in East Pakistan, but responsibility of the security of people belonging to minority is on each and every person and for that we should be prepared to make all the sacrifices we have to but the convention was not held for this purpose. The convention was held to assert that we are responsible for minorities in East Pakistan. Are you not saying indirectly that the people of Pakistan are responsible for the minorities here. This would be the consequence whether you like it or not.

I would like to say one thing that when we take a step in social and political life, we think that it would have desired results but once the chain of events is set into motion, it moves at its own pace. It can not be stopped by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Ganga Sharan Babu and Shri Dahyabhai Patel. Once this feeling is spread that we are responsible for the minorities being subjected to atrocities there, the result of the anger would be that the minorities in the country would no longer be secure.

I mentioned it this morning itself. As it happened in Bengal and Bihar, the Muslims have been sending telegrams and writing for the last three months that they are afraid of Santhals. Our leader Shri S.M. Joshi wrote to the Government in this regard, but in vain. It was termed as ordinary incident. Such controversies should be addressed in the very beginning and I would ask my friends who are troubled by my view that if such things are not stopped, the social framework of the country will be damaged irreparably.

Lastly, I would like to say l would like to cite an example of the corruption rampant in the country. This is the report of Committee on Prevention of Corruption by Santhanam. Its para 214 says:-

> "Corruption can exist only if there is some one willing to corrupt and capable of corrupting. We regret to say that both this willingness and capacity to corrupt is found in a large measure in the industrial and commercial classes. The ranks of these classes have been swelled by the speculators and adventurers of the war period. To these, corruption is not only an easy method to secure large unearned profits but also the necessary means to enable them to be in a position to pursue their vocations or retain their position among their own competitors."

Hon'ble Baliram Bhagatji is sitting here. The Government of his State was involved in a scandal. A scandal of such a large scale might not have occurred in India. Sone barrage is under construction there. A contract for ₹ 1.50 crore was floated. For that, global tenders were invited. One of the tenders was from Vayast Company of Australia. There was another concern named 'Jessop' which was earlier owned by Mundra Sahib and belongs to Government of India presently. Jessop also submitted its tender and two other concerns of Government of India submitted their tenders. But none of these tenders were accepted. After one year, a letter is received from Vayast. There is a concern of hon'ble Birlaji named "Texmaco" and Vayast writes that Texmaco and they have been working together and after one year, a contract of ₹ 1.50 crore is awarded to "Texmaco" even when the terms of Government Concern 'Jessop' were better than Texmaco. I wrote to hon'ble K.L. Rao that this type of contract is being given and he said that he will do something in this regard but he did not reply for three months. Then I sent a reminder, but he did not reply. Then I sent a reminder after 15 days. He sent a reply saying that the Government of Bihar has entered into the contract and that they are asked to furnish their comments only. I asked him as to what was his reply. I was surprised to see the clarifications given by the Government of Bihar and the reply given by hon'ble K.L. Rao. Texmaco has done two works of this kind-one for Bhakra Nangal in Punjab and the second for Rihand Dam in Uttar Pradesh. The Government of Uttar Pradesh is fighting a case against "Texmaco" in

Allahabad High Court and Punjab Government is fighting a case against "Texmaco" in Punjab High Court. The Government of two States awarded contract to this company and both have filed suits in the court. In spite of that, the Government of Bihar awards contract. I wrote against "Jessop" Company but no attention was paid to it. Hon'ble Gulzarilal Nanda is constituting Ethics Committee. Hon'ble K.L. Rao Saheb is bringing socialism in this country. I would like to say to my friends and hon'ble Bhagatji that if the Government of India wants to eradicate corruption sincerely, then this deal should be looked into and if this deal is looked into, I am sure that there would be some results. It is not good thing to deceive the country by awarding a contract of ₹ 1.50 crore in this manner. Hon'ble Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would like to say one more thing in this regard.

I would like to sum up by making one point that all of us should ponder over the matter of agriculture and community development. I submit that Hon'ble S.K. Saheb played the game of Community Development Block for a long time. Now, the sooner this game is finished, the better. I would like to submit that the first item on this Appropriation Bill is "Community Development". I visited many blocks by the order of the Government and Shri S.K. Saheb. The officers of a Community Development Block simply prepare some statistics which have nothing to do with facts and reality. The Government should think over its intention.

Lastly, hon'ble Dahyabhai is not clear about Sheikh Abdullah. It is surprising that some friend of mine wrote in the *Hindustan Times* and he raised concern over it but I was surprised when Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad met Sheikh Saheb, after his release at 12:00 in the night and said that he did not get him arrested and now it is being said all over India that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was not consulted and Sheikh Saheb was arrested. After a period of eleven years, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Government felt the need to say that it did not come to know as to how Sheikh Abdullah was arrested and now Bakshi Saheb would say that even he did not know. I am amongst those people who had said that Sheikh Abdullah should be released. One point was clear in our mind that Article 370 should be removed from the Constitution. Kashmir is a part of our country and no power in the world can separate it from India. I respect hon'ble Jaiprakash Narayan. He asked whether Kashmir should be kept under pressure? He has a great personality, but there has been a greater personality in the world named Mr. Abraham Lincoln. While commenting on the meaning of national integration he had said, 'No citizen should hesitate to wage a war or make sacrifices to safeguard it'. I would request the Government that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should not be influenced by the temporary popularity in favour of Sheikh Abdullah and should not say that he was not aware of it as to how he was arrested. Bakshi Saheb should not say that he is not

responsible for the arrest. If a mistake has been made, it should be admitted. The policy of the country should be implemented with firm determination that Kashmir is and would remain an integral part of India. Except this, any other issue can be discussed. But this issue is beyond dispute and I am confident that hon'ble Tariq Saheb would make an effort to live in India and would make Sheikh Abdullah understand and without getting angry, he should think like a socialist over the issue of Hindu and Muslim by rising above it. He should think over this issue like a person who wants to create a new society by leaving aside conservatism. As a spokesperson of that society, I would like to make an appeal to all my friends to think over these issues. I am sure that the Government would move in that direction.

NATIONALIZATION OF BANKS*

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I congratulate my friend, Shri Raghunatha Reddy, on his bringing forward this motion before the House because it has given us an opportunity to express our opinion on a very vital problem before this country. My hon'ble friend, Shri Dahyabhai Patel, just made a very eloquent speech saying that there should be no nationalisation. The other day when we were discussing this matter a very revered Member of this House, Prof. Wadia, said that this motion is not for the economic benefit of the country nor for attaining any social objective, but it is only out of jealousy against certain persons or certain individuals who own some property in the country. I fail to understand this logic. Shri Dahyabhai Patel was just saying that Fundamental Rights should be guaranteed to every individual in the country and whenever any progressive measure is brought forward before this House, the question of Fundamental Rights and the high sounding slogan of democracy are raised. I fail to understand what they mean by democracy. I should like to put one question before these hon'ble Members, a question not put by me, not put by any communist, not put by any fanatic or an extremist but a question that was put by Swami Vivekananda before the country. With your permission, I should like to put that question before all those hon'ble Members who are opposing nationalisation of banks on the basis that certain individuals should be guaranteed Fundamental Rights. This is a warning so to say or a suggestion to our countrymen:—

> "Feel, therefore, my would be reformers, my would be patriots. Do you feel? Do you feel that millions and millions of the descendants of Gods and sages have become next door neighbours to brutes? Do you feel that millions are starving today, and millions have been starving for ages! Do you feel that ignorance has come over the land as a dark cloud? Does it make you restless? Does it make you sleepless? Has it gone into your blood, coursing through your veins, becoming consonant with your heart-beats? Has it made you almost made? Are you seized with that one idea of the misery of ruin and have you forgotton all about your name your fame, your wives, your children your property, even your own bodies?"

This question some time ago was put before the country. I should like to put the very same question to my hon. friend Shri Dahyabhai Patel. You

* Participating in the Discussion on Nationalisation of Commercial Banks, Rajya Sabha Debate, 20 December 1963, *cc.* 4396-4402.

are worried about certain individuals, a few hundreds or twenty bank owners in the country. But what about the millions of this country? What about the poor people who have been starving for ages, from one generation to another? They have lived on the footpath. They have not got their own dwellings. They cannot have two square meals. There is no democracy for them because they are groaning in ignorance. The day the ninety per cent of the people of this country come out of their ignorance and say that their rights should be preserved, what will happen to this democracy, what will happen to this Parliament?

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Nationalisation will not solve the problem. This is not the only solution. My whole point is that you want to build up a case that if incentive is taken away from twenty or thirty bank owners or a few hundreds of directors, the whole country will be ruined. The initiative will not be there. But what will happen to the millions? The initiative of millions has been crushed in this country and they feel and rightly so that justice is not being done to them. If this feeling of millions of people in the country is not respected, this country is not going to progress. It is not only that the country will not progress, the whole edifice, the democratic pattern, will tumble down like anything. So, I would beg of those Members that they must care for the feelings of the teeming millions in the country. You should take into account that fact. We must create a feeling among them that this country belongs not to a few privileged persons but it belongs to every man living in the country.

The other day, the hon. Shri Bhuwalka said and rightly so that a bank magnate did not eat more than a labourer. It is true. But then why should he try to have more concentration of wealth in his hands? It is because this concentration of wealth given him respectability in society. Respectability in society is a great thing. But do you want to deny that respectability to others who do not own money, who do not own property in order to create the psychological atmosphere? It is necessary that all the resources of production, all the resources necessary for human progress should be concentrated in the hands of the State. There is a mis-understanding about the State. What is the State? I know that the very idea of State was based on accumulation of coercive powers. The State was formed by individuals after a certain experience. They curtailed their own rights and gave them to a certain organisation known as the State. There is corruption and there is inefficiency. But this corruption and inefficiency cannot be a slogan to check all progress in society. I can understand Shri Dahyabhai Patel. I can also understand my friend, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. But I truly say with your permission that I am perplexed about this peculiar party known as the

Congress Party, the ruling Party. The other day they passed a resolution in Jaipur proclaiming democratic socialism as their objective. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the architect of that policy, proclaimed that there should be nationalisation of banks. But members of the same party come out and join hands with the Swatantra Party, with Jansangh and the big mill-owners in the country and say that there should be no nationalisation. And this is the most tragic situation in the country. I am deeply grieved, because if the ruling party which happens to hold so much majority in the House goes to this extent that their members cannot speak with one voice in the highest forum of the country there is nothing but sorrow in future for the whole nation and for that party too.

I should like to refer to one point with your permission. When opposition was being made by certain persons I was immediately reminded of one great soul, one of the noblest souls of the 19th century. I mean Karl Marx. My friend Shri Govindan Nair while speaking the other day said that he was surprised at the speeches of Congress Members. But I was not at all surprised because long ago in the 19th century Karl Marx analysed the social forces. He could analyse the psychology of the man who possesses some property. While writing his great book "Kapital", in his preface to the first German edition, he said it. It is interesting to note that only a man like Karl Marx could have read the psychology of man like that a century ago. He said:—

> "In the domain of political economy, free scientific enquiry has its special enemies to encounter. The peculair quality of its subject matter calls to arm against the most violent, the most petty, and the most odious passions of the human heart—the furies of private interest. For instance, the Anglican Church will more readily pardon attacks upon thirty-eight of its thirty-nine articles, than upon one thirty-ninth of its income. Today, even atheism is a venal sin as compared with the criticism of traditional property relations."

That is what Karl Marx said. If you take into account this analysis of Karl Max, it becomes easy to understand the Congress Party and their Jaipur resolution. No sooner democratic socialism comes into action than there is stout opposition from the Congress Party. You can talk of democratic socialism, you can talk of nationalisation, you can talk of anything, and the Congress Party will pass a unanimous resolution, but if you bring one item on the agenda of Parliament that one of the proposals should be implemented, there would be hue and cry in the Congress Party. In the Jaipur session Mr. Krishna Menon said that we must accept that it is a capitalist society. He said that concentration of wealth had increased during the last fifteen years. And not only that, our Finance Minister, Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari as reported by the A.I.C.C. Economic Review

November 1, 1963, in his informal chat with the correspondents described unaccounted money as the biggest problem, the biggest anti-social ill that vitiated the economic life in the country. The unaccounted money accuring from non-payment of sales-tax and income-tax to the extent of 80 per cent and 60 per cent respectively means an accretion of ₹ 200 crores. Do you not know that this unaccounted money is concealed by these private banks? This is known to the Finance Ministry, but he is not ready to take any step to set this thing right.

I should like to refer to one more point that only 20 important banks in the country are just controlling the whole economy or the major part of the economy in our country. Mr. Raj K. Lingam of the Company Law Administration has revealed that 20 leading banks had 180 directors who hold 1640 directorships in the various industries. This is the position of accumulation or concentration of wealth in a few private hands. If you take into account this situation there can be no hesitation in nationalising these banks. I do not know what are the difficulties being faced by the Government. Because there is certain pressure from the capitalists, there is certain pressure from a certain lobby, vested interests in the country, the Congress Party is not going to take any bold step. I am happy to note that in today's newspapers there is a news item that 54 Congress members have come with their own petition to the Prime Minister that they should be given an opportunity to raise this matter in the Congress Parliamentary Party, and that he should take a bold step to nationalise these banks. I request you, sir, that you should utilise your good office to tell these Congress members that they should prove true to their Jaipur resolution, that they should prove true to their professions. If the ruling party does not prove true to its profession, the whole country will be ruined, the whole democratic pattern will be discredited.

With these words, Sir, I support the resolution moved by Mr. Reddy.

PRIVY PURSES AND PRIVILEGES TO FORMER KINGS*

Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to congratulate my colleague, Shri Bhupeshji for presenting this Bill before us and inviting the attention of this House and the whole country towards the fact that there is a need to make an amendment to the Constitution to terminate the Privy Purse and Privileges given to the former Kings.

This issue has been under debate for so many years and it has been debated a lot during the last one year. This question has been raised within and outside the House several times. I do not want to go into the legal aspects of this question as so many people have expressed their views in this regard. Our Law Minister is sitting here and he has given his views. Many other advocates have also given their opinion on the matter. The advocates, who are not in favour, can only give their nod to make an amendment to the Constitution. I am very surprised to know and it appears to be ridiculous when some of our friends say that if an amendment is made in the Constitution, it will result in breaking some big Indian tradition. They try to impress upon the fact that it will perhaps blur the history of India since we do not fulfil our promises. Our Constitution makers had never thought that there would be an Article of Constitution which could never be amended. The makers of the Constitution gave the right to this Parliament and also to the people of this country to amend various Articles of the Constitution. The Constitution and its Articles have been amended many times. But this question was never raised that feelings of the people would get hurt and the Indian tradition would break. This is for the first time that such a question is being raised. When Shri Devi Singh was speaking, it seemed that the dignity of whole of India was hidden in this single Article of the Constitution. On the other hand, it is said that it would violate the sanctity of the Constitution. Sir, not only once but many times, we have heard about tragic incidents in the House. Heinous crimes are being committed in the country due to untouchability. There is an Article** in the Constitution which states that the malady of untouchability should be removed from this country.

I have never seen sentiments surfacing over this issue, I have never seen my friends expressing their sentiments about it with such intensity. It

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* Participating in the disucssion on 'Constitution (Amendment) Bill', 1964; Rajya Sabha Debate; 2 August 1968, *cc.* 1939-1945 (Originally in Hindi).

** Article 17.

is there in this very Constitution ensuring that the chasm between the poor and the rich should not become so wide that the poor do not feel life worth living. My friend Devi Singhji has never paid his attention to the liberal principles of our polity enshrined in these Articles. Our those friends have also not paid any attention to it who passionately argue that the sanctity, intent and dignity of the Constitution will be undermined. Sir, I would like to ask as to what is the intention of the Constitution, what is the soul of the Constitution. The soul of the Constitution says that if the country has got independence, each and every being of this country, be he the poor or the rich must be entitled to it, if there is pain and poverty in this country it will be shared both by the poor and the rich. I am of the opinion that if the country is poor, every person should equally share it. Sir, as you are an advocate of Indian culture, I would like to know from you what kind of dignity and greatness of this culture is there where the rich are enjoying all the luxuries while the poor are struggling and suffering and whenever the concerns of the poor are raised in this Parliament, it is looked down upon; whosoever raises the issue is dubbed as the enemy of the country and even if I talk about it, it will be promptly pointed out that I have come under the influence of Communists and Communism.

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.....It has also been mentioned in the Constitution that something should be done to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of the poor, but no attention is paid towards it. Why no attention is paid towards it. There is only one concept behind it that the society to which we belong, has certain old concepts and whenever attempts will be made to strike at these concepts, they will be opposed and I would like to tell to my friend Shri Balkrishna Guptaji that it will be opposed not only by the Congress, by the Jan Sangh, by the Swatantra Party, but there are certain elements in the socialist parties like Communist Party, Socialist Party and Praja Socialist Party who consider the right to personal property sacrosanct and they think that one is born with property, and God is very dear to their hearts but the fact is that they have no respect for the human beings. These people oppose every attempt to break every tradition—whether they belong to Congress Party or Swatantra Party or other parties, and these people want to maintain this rotten structure of the society and it will not remain there despite their every effort because, Sir, I have stated a number of times in this House that the Chariot of History is not dependent on anyone for its movement; we have only one thing to decide and that is whether we want to take the Chariot of History forward or get trampled by it, and we have no other option to it.

Our those friends, who were earlier Kings and are still enjoying some of the fringe benefits should understand that this Parliament or this Constitution may spare them some more time, but they will have to pay dear for it because history will not stand still.

Sir, now I would deliberate over the other thing related with tradition. Sir, what has been the tradition of India? Sir, you know that in our country from ancient times, from the period of Vedas the King was supposed to transfer the collected revenue to the people suffering from starvation and poverty. Who has been acknowledged as a king in our country? Indra has been acknowledged in this respect in the Vedas. As per the Vedas, Indra, with the help of Sun, air and clouds brings rain to the desert or water deficient areas, from the Sea. But now-a-days the water is flowing in the opposite direction. My brother Shri Dahyabhai Patel outlines different duty for the Kings. According to him they are in possession of wealth since ages and it should continue, while the poor should keep starving for some more time. I think, in our scriptures, in our tradition, it has never been so. It has been the tradition here that the duty of the king is to transfer the money from the treasury to the poor.....

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.....Likewise if the Parliament of India does not perform this duty, if the Government of India does not perform this duty, then I would like to say with humility that it will be against all tradition and culture of India.

Sir, another thing I would like to say is that it is widely mentioned that Kings have made huge sacrifices, did great penance. I do not have any objection if their sacrifices, their penance is praised by people who are unaware of the history of India or by those people who sided with British in the struggle for independence, but the opinion of people like Dahyabhai Patel is surprising. May be, he is misguided now-a-days. But he has been a part of struggle for independence. While he praises *Rajas* and *Maharajas,* while he tells stories about their love for the country, their merger with India, he perhaps forgets who made sacrifices in these Princely States, he forgets those people who sacrificed their lives. It is dishonour to their memory. I have got a book which is not with me right now, it has been authored by Shri Kanhaiyalal Maneklal Munshi and this book* is about Hyderabad and it has been written in the book that out of hundreds of Rajas and Nawabs residing in this country, only 18 belonged to ruling dynasties, royal families which existed before the British rule and the rest of them became rulers and Kings during the British rule. Why did they become so?

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This book is written by Shri Kanhaiyalal Maneklal Munshi, you would know better than him, this book is written by your leader. Only 18 people from both Pakistan and India were there from here and rest of the people....

* The end of an era: Hyderabad memories. Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1957.

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Would have been inhabitants of Rajasthan but they all had accepted slavery before the arrival of Britishers and therefore, they crowned them as King. They betrayed the country to maintain the British sovereignty. I hold that if this is patriotism, it would be injustice with the memory and sacrifices of those who have endured torture of Kings of Princely States and made efforts for freedom.

Shri Devi Singhji has asked a question today as to what would have been the consequences if these Kings would also have revolted against them. They would have met the same fate as the ones, who do not recognize the course of history. As various monarchies are being grounded worldwide one by one, similar would have been their fate. Everyday we come to know that every one or second King is compelled by their own people to fly to other country. I believe that these Kings have acted wisely at that time and I am sure they will act wisely again and accept this proposal, surrender their privileges before it becomes too late and they will not compel the people and history of the country to force them to surrender.

Thank you.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS*

Sir, First of all I congratulate the President of India.

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I think no economic and political policy can be effective if it does not save the dignity, glory and respect of the country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, when this address was being read out in the Central Hall of Parliament, our hon'ble President had said that our aim behind the policy of liberalization would be development in the country, equality, a new morning in the lives of the poor and there would be a wave of development in the whole of the world. One or one and half year earlier I had written a letter to the Prime Minister of India that nine years have passed, now we should sit and evaluate as to what we have achieved or lost. From the address of the President, which has been prepared by the Government, it appears that the country is heading towards gloomy future. Whatsoever dreams of development were there in the country all those have remained only dreams. Small scale industries of our country have been eliminated and cottage industries closed. The factories which were established by our forefathers with their labour and hard work are being closed. The Government declared last year that property worth ₹ 10,000 crores of factories will be sold out.

Some people have opposed this but sale of property continued. I am sorry to say that I have never heard any statement of the Prime Minister of India that we will revive those factories we will create new capacity in these factories. He has been saying that the work of disinvestment will be accelerated. Other day, our Finance Minister was making a statement. He was also reiterating this fact that inspite of efforts of selling we could not collect money. We had expected ours as such a country where we have a Minister who will see role of industries. The name of this in English is Disinvestment Minister Shri Arun Shourie is our old friend. He is quite young and we had great expectations from him.

.....On the order of our Defence Minister, 450 soldiers have laid down their lives in Kargil. But this is also a fact that we could not cross our border. We were ready to sacrifice our soldiers because the whole world

* Participating in the debate on the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address, Lok Sabha Debate 8 March 2001, *cc.* 301-309.

was saying that if we cross those borders of Kargil which is our line of control then there will be full-fledged war. At the time of atomic test which were conducted at Pokhran. George Saheb you were not informed. I know one of your colleagues had thrown a challenge to Pakistan and wanted to know the place and time suitable for Pakistan for fight. They forgot that they are members of our family. If we can make a mistake then they can also make a mistake. We have conducted five nuclear tests and they have conducted six tests. Now you have forgot those differences and proceeded for Lahore Agreement in a bus. Governing the country is no child's play. When we had not conducted atomic test, at that time our strength was five times more than Pakistan. Now we are equals. Either they can destroy us by first use of nuclear bomb or we can destroy them by doing so. Shri George Fernandes is present here. He believes in quick action. Probably he will act before them. But when a bomb is dropped at Lahore what will happen. Once I said in this House that we should see as to what effect it will have on Amritsar. We should think about this. I would not like to say that thing. People fight the battle with courage. But everything is spoiled by one step taken by you.

What is cease-fire in Kashmir. I do not know who has declared this ceasefire. This ceasefire is for our soldiers and army only. Killings are taking place everyday. This is not happening in Kashmir only, it is happening in Nagaland also. I used to have a dialogue with people like Farookh Abdullah, Jamir Saheb. No one might have felt their feelings but George Fernandes can feel them. He has just come in at the right moment. Therefore, I request you to remember those days when these people look at you with hope. They thought that India, as a powerful country will not only save herself but she will give an assurance to the poor countries also that if they are in pain and agony, India will be there to help them. Today we are absolutely helpless. I have mentioned these things in the beginning because seeing George Saheb reminded me of old times. But if you look at the economic condition of our country, then this document which Hon'ble President has read in an hour, is very much confusing. How long shall we remain in such confusion? All know that the last ten years, since these policies were implemented during this Government's tenure as well as the period of previous, small scale industries have been closed down. Where are our cottage industries. What is condition of our weavers, craftsmen, blacksmiths. Where is their art, what is the condition of Arts of Adivasis's villages. After all, India was the richest country of the world before the arrival of Britishers. There were no multi-national companies, there were farmers. There were no big plants but we had skilled people who were spread all over India and they used to create wealth. Their products used to be sold throughout the world. Suddenly one thing was spread in India when Mahatma Gandhi came to India to fight against Britishers. Mr. Gokhale

told Mahatma Gandhi: Go to villages and recognize the strength of villagers and with their inspiration you can build new Hindustan. Gandhiji had urged the tradition and strength of rural India. He infused a new life into a country which was inactive and from 1914 to 1942 Gandhiji infused a new strength and raised a weaponless country fight against British colonialism. Gandhiji, who gave the slogan of "do or die" and "Quit India" may not have any mention in Government's files but still his voice can be heard in every part of India. This voice can be heard not only in the heart of an Indian but also in the hearts to the people of the world. I remember the day Mahatma Gandhiji died. At that time Einstein said that one day people of the world would remember that such a lean person was born in this world. At that time Mr. Romain Rolland told if ever the world will think when was human civilization and culture begun name of only one country will come to mind and that is India. Gandhiji has given courage to such country. In 1991, an attempt was made to lower that courage and it is still going on today. It is said that we are helpless, if people of other countries do not give us money then nothing can be done in our country. Why do we need money. What is the use of money that we have received? George Saheb, do you remember, we opposed Cocacola in the year 1977 and now Mr. George Fernandes is welcoming Pepsi and Coca-Cola. It is painful that intention of our forces is not good but our farmers are diligently farming the land and have made our country self-sufficient in agriculture. I think our farmers have faced many problems and still made India self-dependent in many fields. In the past we could not make even a small needle but now India is among 13 industrialised countries. George Saheb you remember that day when you called for railway strike. Thousands of workers got ready and now if the same workers are not agreeing to the sale of BALCO you approach Supreme Court and act as agent of this company and ask for permission to send force there. You want to compel them to work on the basis of gun power and political power. This is not your company. Remember, this company belongs to a capitalist. A friend of the capitalists has raised this question. On behalf of capitalists, Disinvestment Minister tells us how to run this country. He tells us how favouritism is done and how the Government at Centre works. Where was the Central Government when bureaucrats did whatever they wished. You may criticise the speech of Somnath Chatterjee. However, I would not use that language. When a Government officer openly gives an interview and that is published in the newspaper and when the Member of National Executive of your party, which is a major party has been referring to the deeds of the Prime Minister's Office on TV daily for the last two months, then where is the Information Ministry, the Department of Information and the PMO. Why those things are not refuted? If that is not refuted then why a young man gets agitated when our friend, Somnath Chatterjee makes a mention of that. You can suppress the feeling

of the people by showing anger, you can get any resolution passed with majority in the Parliament but friends, remember one thing that the revolutions in the world, never occur as a result of the resolutions of the Parliament and the judgement of the Supreme Court. The people choose the way of revolution by setting aside the judgement of Supreme Court and the Parliament also keeps mum. Today whatever is going on in BALCO is not a good sign. If a Chief Minister challenges then the Government approaches the Supreme Court. The Government do not think of coming before the Parliament and the Union Cabinet and tell them that this work is not being done. But the Government approaches the Supreme Court. A day will come when the Supreme Court may ask you to resign. The Supreme Court can impose restrictions on you one day. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg your pardon. I have seen many times in this Parliament that the summons of the High Court and the Supreme Court have been ignored by the people occupying this Chair, which you are holding today. It is said that the person occupying the chair is not bound to comply with the orders of the court. I have written to the Hon'ble Speaker that I feel that the rights and duties of the person holding that post is decided by the Parliament only. The Supreme Court can neither reduce it nor it can increase it. But today the Government which have failed to do the duty has been working forward to that only. It is creating fear among the people. It is not a good sign that the country which was not afraid of the British imperialism is being cowed down by this legal gimmick. I would like to submit whatever sector one casts his glance over one by one, they, including industries face closure. It was said that the companies running in losses would only be sold. Ten thousand crore rupees would be collected. Then it was said that there is no one to purchase the company running in losses and therefore, the companies earning profit would also be sold. Our hon'ble Disinvestment Minister who is not present here made a statement in this regard. That was supported by our friend who is the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. Is it your property? Today you are in power, but tomorrow you may not be in power. Suppose tomorrow any other person becomes Prime Minister any other party comes to form Government, then what will happen to this country if you sell those companies. What will be the situation? Today, you are making such policies which lead to further worsen the problems of the poor country. The policies of present Government are responsible for pushing the country to such a situation.

A few days back, the Chief Minister of poor States and Chief Minister of rich States began challenging each other on the issue of the report of 11th Finance Commission. Such things have never happened during the last 50-52 years but it is your grand success. My friend Mulayamji observed that I used to call Atalji as "Gurudev" I have no hesitation in calling him even now as 'Gurudev' but remember that Arjun was compelled to use his bow

and arrow even against his Guru Dronacharya. Therefore, I am asking in which direction the country is being led to, in which embarrassing situation you want to land the country? Today, foreigners are openly dictating that which agriculture policy we should adhere to, what should be done with our workers. Government will ask nothing if a company employing upto one thousand workers is closed down. Where is the courage which once characterised trade union leader George Fernandes. Manohar Joshiji, I would like to ask you, you are responsible for the condition of those workers.

I was in favour of nationalisation of Banks. At that time, I had said that nationalisation of banks are essential because capital is flowing from poor areas to rich areas, it is being accumulated in the hands of a few capitalists which is leading to regional imbalance and to check that trend, nationalisation of Bank was essential. There were a few shortcomings in the nationalisation of banks. Bank employees also committed a few mistakes but is it not a fact that Banks helped lakhs of people to buy tractors, farmers buy pumps, small traders open shops, whereas earlier only 14 families used to have permission to use the capitals of the Bank. The capital which was controlled by a few hands, reached a number of persons after the nationalisation of Banks. There is mention of high ideals in it. I do not want to repeat one by one. You want to educate, you want to provide health services to the villagers, you wish to make electricity available; where is my friend Suresh Prabhuji, he knows how the electricity will reach and where. The policies which you are following, there shall be nothing but darkness everywhere in the country within two years. Enron will not recover only 30-35 thousand crore rupees, Shivraj Patilji, your State is facing most grave situation in this regard. One of our friends had signed it and another respected friend had given approval. I had termed it as a disastrous move at that time. Now it is creating problems for Mr. Suresh Prabhu. The Government of Maharashtra is trying to transfer it to the Union Government and the Union Government are in dilemma as to who would purchase power at such an exorbitant rate of ₹ 7.80 per unit? Threats are being given. Our coming generations would pay that price when you would be no more in power and we would be no more in the Parliament. Having pondered over these objects. I considered to raise my voice be it heard or not. I should tell the countrymen as to where you are leading the country to? Fees are being hiked in the country. The University Grants Commission is pronouncing to offer no help in next five years. They raise the fees at the rate of ten per cent per annum and offer no help. I went to Allahabad and Lucknow Universities. The youth over there pleaded that our parents make us study with their hard earned money and the Government provide us no employment. The Government is engaged in retrenchment and by way of Voluntary Retirement Scheme (VRS) 90,000 bank employees are seeking retirement. What happened to those constitutional safeguards

passed by the Parliament? Now this Government seeks to adopt a policy of hire and fire in one stroke. There is no discussion. I have to say it with regret Mr. Shukla and Mr. Shivraj Patil you also support the Government. It is a pity that the Government and the Opposition are singing in the same tune on the issue of selling the country. I would like to ask where are you leading the country to? How can the country progress when a poor man's son finds himself unable to go to university or a college?

Mr. Mulayam Singh often pleads for reservation. But, what's the fun of having provision of reservation in the absence of any job opportunities? Foreign companies won't obey your legislation in regard to reservation. Have you gone through it, where would it lead? We are selling one major industry after the other. I am not talking of BALCO alone. Now, we are heading towards privatisation of Indian Airlines and Air India. This Government is working towards selling this country and feeling pride in it. The same sort of breach of trust is being meted out to labourers and government employees. They too are treated in the same manner. Five or eight ministries have been abolished. Now you would not decide in the Cabinet regarding abolishment or otherwise of a ministry, rather it would be decided by the World Bank or International Monetary Fund. I can show you the reports of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund which mentions about the number of persons to be retrenched in India and the economic system it should adopt. Now a new agriculture policy would be formulated. Our friend, the Finance Minister was saying that the agriculture policy has been framed for the first time in the country. Has he forgotten that the Zamindari system was abolished here. Has he forgotten the massive agitation launched for cooperative farming. Has he forgotten about the massive investment made by the Government during Green Revolution. I have been against the working of Government but nevertheless I would say that revenue building work has been done between 1947 to 1990 in the country and we have started selling it from 1991. How any Government, any Prime Minister or Finance Minister or Disinvestment Minister could speak with pride after listening to it. If this is the situation in the Parliament today then what would be the morale of the poor people of the country? For how long would you keep them in illusion? For how long would you keep them in confusion? Today, awareness is coming in the society too. We want to say this because the Adivasis, poor dalits have got pain in their hearts. Many boys and girls of the dalits and adivasis are studying in universities and colleges. Who are those persons to whom not only today but several years ago it was said that the Almighty has given to them only this life and they are born only with this destiny. These boys and girls are not ready to accept it as they have read about the revolutions and history. They have seen the revolution the world over. They knew about the revolutions of Vietnam, Cuba and France. They know about the revolutions of Russia and

China. They know that these policies of the Government make them poor. Please remember that human minds awakening can never be confined in a cage. No one can make human consciousness a prisoner. Pain born out of hunger destroys palaces. Beware, lest fire should destroy the Parliament, our whole set up politicians and bureaucrats sitting in the PMO. Therefore, I am here to warn you. I want to warn such people of the world who are dreaming of making India their slave. The East India Company had arrived with their own army. They succeeded in dividing brothers, Hindu-Muslims, Sikhs-Marathas and captured power. Today there is no East India company. Mahatma Gandhi had given the slogan 'Quit India' in 1942. Today we are giving the slogan that our doors are open for the Britishers, Germans, Japanese, Canadians or Americans or anyone else who wishes so. Hon. Chairman, Sir, our world is a selfish one. No one comes to help others out, but for their profit. They come to exploit the poors. One who invests money say ten rupees would like to earn twenty rupees. Today, we are claiming that we have made immense progress. We have got enough stock foreign exchange in the Reserve Bank. I have often heard that Chandra Shekharji had mortgaged gold. However, I took no loan in those four months. People in power before me had taken loans but it was not their fault. It is another matter that the policies were wrong. Questions may be raised regarding the wisdom of it. Poor women folk in our villages say that their husbands have mortgaged their jewellery in the same way as the politicians have mortgaged gold and moan over it. What do they do by moaning over it? Whether the honour of the country or gold was supreme? If it was honour of the country then gold could be mortgaged. Now you are not mortgaging only gold but selling the land too. You have said that lands of farmers could be given on lease to big capitalists of India or other countries, where they can establish big farm houses and use machines for agricultural purposes. On the other hand, Shri Shanta Kumarji has said that we have not enough storing capacity for keeping foodgrains. I had heard and read it as well that the Americans used to throw foodgrains in the sea or burn the crop, but you have left the foodgrains to rot and people of Kalahandi are dying out of starvation. Is this the way to run the country. If some accident takes place like what happened in Gujarat and suppose someone says something wrong, our Prime Minister becomes agitated. I was not present here that day. He had said to a senior member that he would put him in the dock. Mr. Prime Minister, Sir, you are standing in the dock. You are put in the dock by your own Government servants who make statements in newspapers everyday. You have been put in the dock by your national executive member who are making statements not only in newspapers but on television everyday and the entire country listens to it. One lady member who is present at the moment, was saying on Women's Day that Atalji* has done great on Women's Day, so he should be awarded the Nobel Prize for

* Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the then Prime Minister.

peace. I was listening about the cease-fire where helpless youths have been left at the mercy to meet cold blooded death, it was because we could tell the world that Pakistan is enemy to peace and we are the messiah of it, so we should be given the Nobel Prize for Peace, but where is Mr. Burhanuddin Rabbani* of Afghanistan. Two Embassies of America have been blown up and their ships destroyed. If they could not fire missiles against them it would not be helpful to you. Our friend, the Foreign Minister, who used to talk to them and assure you too has gone somewhere else.

Sir, I am saying with regret that attempt has been made to belittle the stature of the President through this address. I would certainly say that the President has not only maintained the stature of his post by sounding warning to the country from time to time but has also served the country well too. I, therefore, congratulate the President. I request to the Government to work and impress upon the people. I am therefore, constrained to give vent to my sentiments.

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* The then President of Islamic State of Afghanistan.

THE BROADCASTING POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT*

Deputy Chairman, Sir, leaders in Opposition have expressed apprehension that our democracy is in danger because *'Akashvani'* is not broadcasting their views. They might have objection on two-three points …*(Interruptions)*

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Sir, I just, wanted to state that we may criticize *'Akashvani'* but what the Hon'ble Leader of Opposition has stated that he will not let the House function from tomorrow, is totally undemocratic. He should think over it seriously.

.....All India Radio is doing its duty.

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Deputy Chairman, Sir, several complaints have been made in respect of *'Akashvani'*. I also have a complaint against it. As Shri Bhupesh Guptaji has stated, now I feel pity for Shri Rajnarayanji because I can understand his complaints and not only his, but I can understand the complaints of Loknath Mishraji and Shri Niranjan Vermaji also who have their own political objectives. Sir, certain people give importance to personal gains in politics, criticize each and every move of the Government to gain mileage.

Shri Rajnarayanji will not achieve anything in the company of such depressed and dejected people. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I humbly request him that he may have some complaints, regarding what has been propagated in Uttar Pradesh. But I also have a complaint against All India Radio. When the Government of the Samyukt Vidhayak Dal was formed, I had given a statement, rather leaders of all the parties and perhaps Shri Rajnarayanji also had stated that the Assembly Session might be called the day the Government was formed. He had also further stated that they might call the Assembly Session within 15 days and prove majority. Hon'ble Rajnarayanji had also stated that the Government would be formed on a common programme. But later on, leave aside the party which was a component of the Samyukt Vidhayak Dal, Shri Rajnarayanji, who himself was the leader of that party, had to face disgrace. He had stated that the Governor did not act in accordance with the spirit of democracy and did not call the largest party to prove majority for seven-eight days. In my statement, I had stated, what happened to the faith of Shri T.N. Singh and other Congressmen in democracy. One month and two days have passed.....

* Participating in the discussion on "Alleged Propaganda by A.I.R. against Opposition Parties"; Rajya Sabha Debate; 19 November, 1970, *cc.* 139-229 (Originally in Hindi)

I also have a grievance against *'Akashvani'* because I had given a statement as to why the Assembly Session was not called despite passing of one month and two days though Shri Rajnarayanji had made a commitment that it would be called within 15 days. I have no faith in Shri T.N. Singh but I know Shri Rajnarayanji. He may not be correct but he speaks what he feels is right. I was under the impression that he is rightly saying that the Assembly Session would be called within 15 days but that was not done. The statement made by me was not broadcasted by the *'Akashvani'*.

Now my complaint is that All India Radio's approach is one-sided. Our friend Shri Bhupesh Gupta has also said this. I also have a similar doubt. Today, Shri Rajnarayanji has discussed this issue because any incorrect news about his Samyukta Socialist Party might have been published by the newspapers. Our friends sitting on the other side participate in the debate only because nobody listens to them when they are out of the House. They do not get even ten listeners. They are rejected by the public everywhere and therefore, they have made this August House a platform for airing their views so as to get publicity and if they do not get publicity next day, they will bring a motion of contempt against the All India Radio.

Deputy Chairman, Sir, that is why, sometimes I have my doubts and I would like to request Shri Rajnarayanji that he must stand and fight for his principles but he should also try to understand our problems. I know that he does not like anything which goes against him, be it All India Radio or anybody else. He says as to how the Samyukta Socialist Party should recognize five persons. He says that these five persons belong to the Samyukta Socialist Party and nobody treats them as members of that party in the Legislative Assembly.

Deputy Chairman, Sir, you know that the persons sitting on the other side are frustrated and call themselves Congressmen. We cannot prevent them. The All India Radio and your Secretariat treat them as members of the Congress Party. But the workers of Congress party have discarded them. They want to mislead the public with the help of a few monopolists and through newspapers they are trying to level charges against this Government. They are not satisfied because the All India Radio is not supporting their agenda which is being carried on by the newspapers of capitalists. All India Radio does not ask the public to support the party which has betrayed the public and the democracy.

Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would like to convey, through you, as to why All India Radio broadcast the statements like the one made by Shri Nijalingappa in which he has denied any agreement with the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party. I had given a statement that Nijalingappaji and Shri Morarji Desaiji were likely to go with the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party.

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Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would like to say that Hon. Dahyabhai Patel holds a grudge against our loud voice. Our voice is not so sweet and soothing to ears. All the soft-spoken Members are in the Opposition. But, I have no complaint against Dahyabhaiji because whether I agree with him or not, he always speaks his mind. I do not agree with him and he does not agree with me. Democracy means everyone has a right to express his/her views. But, now there are some extraordinary socialists who think something, speak something else and their actions and writings are altogether different from their statements. Hon'ble Rajnarayanji has entered into an unholy alliance with such Socialists. I know Shri Rajnarayanji for the last 30-32 years. I am sure about one thing that he cannot favour monopolists but he is so biased against Congress that he went with others whereas the Congress has undergone a sea change since the year 1966. There are a few Members in the House who speak in favour of different persons like Birla, Tata, Goenka and Shanti Prasad Jain on different occasions and want the entire Government machinery to favour them. But, when All India Radio cannot carry on any propaganda in their favour and does not sing of Goenkaji, I would like to tell Hon'ble Shri Rajnarayanji, I doubt, the capitalists, monopolists and their representatives try to make All India Radio function as per their wishes. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have no complaint against Hon'ble Shri Dahyabhaiji because he believes in his philosophy. I have no complaint against hon'ble Shri Niranjan Vermaji as he has got also a philosophy of life and society. But, when All India Radio is functioning as per the national policy, I think that there is no contempt of democracy. I agree that it is a big problem if All India Radio does not broadcast the statements of Shri Rajnarayanji or Hon'ble Dahyabhai Patel or Hon'ble Shyam Nandan Mishra.

Last time, when there was a controversy, our friends told us not to present details regarding how many times their names were referred to. If any inquiry is made, who will make this inquiry? As honourable Bhupesh Gupta has said, I have no objection if Shri Rajnarayanji conducts this inquiry. But, if Rajnarayanji wants any of his adulators to make this inquiry, then I doubt that a conspiracy is being hatched against all the national policies. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this conspiracy has started from Uttar Pradesh, so when Bhai Rajnarayanji makes any allegation against All India Radio in regard to politics in Uttar Pradesh, I would like to beg your pardon and say that sometimes I feel that knowingly or unknowingly he has fallen into the clutches of those forces which are trying to drag the country backward. I am happy that Rajnarayanji is in agreement with me.....

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Deputy Chairman, Sir, I was submitting that the hon. Members have asked me as to why I oppose it.....

.....I understand that the All India Radio does not voice the entire problems of the people. I also understand that the All India Radio has no sympathy towards the exploited, victimized and stigmatized people. But, I would like to tell Hon'ble Menonji that some kind of change has taken place in our politics during the last one and a-half-year and consequent upon the changes in our functioning, a change has taken place in the policy of the All India Radio also. As Shri Menonji is not satisfied with these changes and so am I and I fully believe in those apprehensions and I would request Shri Rajnarayanji also—l am not being sarcastic, I understand that the Congress Party is not moving actively towards Socialism. But, Hon'ble Deputy Chairman, Sir, you would at least agree that the slight changes that took place in our politics are being reflected by the All India Radio but at the same time the political parties with vested interests, which want to push the country to narrow-mindedness and want to maintain conservative atmosphere are afraid today.

Hon'ble Deputy Chairman, Sir, today I recollect what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru once said. He said: "We are making an innovative democratic effort in our country and we do not know whether it would succeed or not". Hon'ble Pandit Nehru had said that if efforts are made through Parliament for carrying out sweeping changes then it acts as an impediment because of vested interests.

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Deputy Chairman, Sir, I was saying that Shri Rajnarayanji might have his personal views. Shri Rajnarayan is well aware of my view about our Constitution. Shri Rajnarayan is also aware that I am not happy with the Constitution we have today and I am in favour of carrying out radical changes in our Constitution. Therefore, I want that friends like Shri Rajnarayanji should cooperate with us in this regard but I am surprised and pained to see that Shri Rajnarayanji is siding with such forces.

I was saying that, that time Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said that as and when efforts are made for carrying out even any small change, the parties with vested interests will try to destroy whole Constitution. If All India Radio takes any revolutionary step today.....

Deputy Chairman, Sir, I was saying that All India Radio functions with the help of public money and therefore, it is its duty to reflect the sentiments of public. I feel that All India Radio should act as a means to reflect the sentiments of exploited, oppressed and downtrodden people. But it is not so. Today, we have to compromise in many ways in parliamentary democracy. What can be greater irony than the fact that there are people who say that

for getting reliable news they have to depend on foreign radio stations? Such people are against Radio Moscow as well as All India Radio. They get reliable news from BBC or Voice of America. What is this going on and why do Members say such things in the House? Alright, we may criticise All India Radio, but the people who feel that credibility of country has gone down and those who have no faith in sentiments of the country, its means and its institutions have no right to be in this House even for a minute.

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Deputy Chairman, Sir, they want to undo even the slight change that has taken place in All India Radio.

*** *** ***

Whatsoever be the opposition, All India Radio will have to disseminate our national policies.

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Rajnarayanji has got an ailment, whose cure is not with me.

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.....I do not think any person is so important in the world that he can derail progress being made in the society. Rajnarayanji, you do not believe in our capabilities, therefore, you are suffering from inferiority complex. Therefore, I am saying that Chandra Shekhar may or may not bring a change, Indira Gandhi may or may not bring a change, Congress Party may or may not bring a change, the social forces will surely bring a change.

CONSTITUTIONAL AND PARLIAMENTARY MATTERS

REGARDING DE-RECOGNIZING PRINCES*

It is very unfortunate that the Supreme Court has struck down an order of the Government derecognising the princes. Mr. Deputy Chairman to my mind, the Supreme Court has shown to the world and to this country that no change is possible in the present economic and social conditions and the social system under the present Constitution. This is a very serious matter. It is not only striking down an executive order derecognising the princes.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is a very serious matter and this decision of the Supreme Court is a reflection on the functioning of parliamentary democracy.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, what I was trying to submit was that this decision of the Supreme Court has raised a serious doubt that no social change is possible through this parliamentary democracy, and those of my friends on the other side who were crying very loud in support of this decision of the Supreme Court are yet to learn the lesson from history. In many countries of the world, the constitutions have been broken, dissolved, demolished, because of the obstinancy of those who tried to be defenders of those constitutions. Mr. Deputy Chairman, the same symptoms are being seen and are visible in this country now. The hon'ble Judges, in their wisdom, have tried to protect the Constitution and parliamentary democracy, but they have raised a doubt in the minds of the toiling masses that they have no other option but to throw away this Constitution and try to take other measures to bring about the necessary social and economic changes.

It is another point whether we need to have another Constitution or not, but the same learned Judges may come to the conclusion that there is no provision in the Constitution to convene a Constituent Assembly. The only point to be considered by the Government and this distinguished House, Mr. Deputy Chairman, is whether the eleven judges are going to rule over the destiny of this country, or whether the 520 million people are going to have their say in making the destiny of this country. That question has been posed today, and it is a serious question posed by this decision of the Supreme Court. Some hon'ble friends here think that they are the only arbiters of the destiny of this country and that there can be no one else to determine the future of this country. Let us remember that there

* Participating in the Debate on Supreme Court's Judgement reg. derecognition of Princes, Rajya Sabha Debate, 15 December 1970, *cc*. 121-127

is the other power also, the power of the people; the power of the masses, the power of the people who are exploited.

These people are crying hoarse in favour of the vested interests, in favour of the princes whose hands are smeared with the blood of the toiling masses, and this is indication, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that this parliamentary institution has come to that pass about which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru once said:

> "Parliamentary democracy in this country has yet to show whether it can be a proper instrument of social and economic change."

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, only a minor decision was taken by the Government and that decision was to do away with the privileges and privy purses.

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Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, what I was trying to impress upon you is that the hon'ble Supreme Court seems to be more concerned with interpreting the intricacies and the legal verbal delicacies. They seem to be little concerned about the feelings of the people in this country and when such a situation arises in any country the people have to take recourse to certain methods, which may bring about an amelioration of their difficulties. This Parliament, as the highest forum of this country, has to give a lead to the people of this country. Whether we are going to depend upon the wisdom of eleven Judges of the hon'ble Supreme Court and leave the people to take their own course of action or not, this Parliament is going to give a guideline to the people and assure them that, in spite of the wisdom of these learned Judges, there are remedies open to the people through parliamentary institutions. If this answer is not provided by this Parliament, I am afraid the people may take recourse to some measures which may silence the voices on the other side, which so readily talk about the freedom and the fights of a certain preivileged few but they have left open the exploitation of the common man. Under the circumstances, I would urge upon the Government to come forward with a concrete proposed before this House before the Session ends, so that people understand that parliamentary institutions have still some power to take care of their interests and some learned people cannot ride roughshod over their aspirations and hopes.

NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRIES AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY*

Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would like to say with regard to today's debate that the purpose of nationalization of industries is not to increase the production and profit, rather to ascertain as to who should have control over the economy and the economic system of the country. By introducing nationalization, the Government ensured that the control over property into the hands of people from the industrialists and for this, I would like to congratulate the Government.

One of my friends says that after nationalization, there has not been as much progress, development or profit in national industries as has been achieved in private sector industries. Hence, the principle of nationalization is meaningless and that he is not in agreement with this. One of our hon'ble members said that the things produced by public sector industries are generally costlier than the things produced by private sector industries. As far as the question of H.M.T. factory is concerned, I feel that the prices of machines produced by it are less than machines produced by private sector. This is also a fact that the development that has taken place after bringing industries under the ambit of public sector was not possible in private industries. Even today, there are so many sectors which are not the preferred choice for the persons engaged in private sector. I feel that many people may be good in industries and many of them may have interest in some jobs, but what is the intention behind running private industries. The purpose behind running the private industries is not social benefit but personal gain and so long as the principle of personal gain continues in the country, majority of the people in the country who are poor, cannot progress. We support the nationalization policy from this point of view and our party supports this policy. One of our hon'ble members has just said that we should not see the industrialists in negative light. We should not look at the filthy drain. I would humbly say to them that they should not only see the Temples built by Birla Saheb but also think about those labourers who work in the factories of Birla, Tata and Dalmia. When we talk of society we talk of principles. We cannot make allowances for exceptions. We should

* Participating in the discussion on "Report on the working of Industrial and Commercial Undertakings of Central Government"; Rajya Sabha Debate, 21 August 1963, *cc*. 1089-1097 (Originally in Hindi)

understand while talking about principles that the basic purpose of private industries is personal gain. We will have to shun the tradition, the purpose, and mentality of personal gain from the country.

After the nationalization of some industries, a major benefit to the country is that the ideology of the country has moved in another direction. I had said on a previous occasion that the Government should take lessons from the past times, history and society, but Government does not show willingness in this regard.

Just now hon'ble Member Shri Dahyabhai Patel has said that the Swatantra Party does not say that all things are bad. I do not have much time. I would, therefore, say only that hon'ble Rajgopalachari had, not once but ten times, written in his newspaper "Swarajya" that the policy of nationalization cannot take the country forward. Hon'ble Rajgopalachari has also said that only private industries can bring development in the country and a new prosperous nation can be developed. Our friend from Jan Sangh is not present here. Jan Sangh had passed a similar resolution fifteen days back in which it has been said that the Government should promote private industries by expanding the scope of industrial policy so that the Nation could make progress. Just now our friend hon'ble Shri A.D. Mani Saheb said that the document of industrial policy is not such a sacrosanct document which cannot be changed. I also feel that it can be changed, but the question is as in which direction it should be changed and how should it be changed. Should the change be in that direction as desired by Rajaji, people from Swatantra Party, people from Jan Sangh and as people like Dalmia and Jain want or should it be changed such a way that the public industries can work with more capacity, more confidence and more profit?

Sir, I would like to submit to you that when I support the tradition of public industries, I do not mean that the shortcomings of public industries should be ignored. I do not mean that the way the public industries are being run is right and that I appreciate it. It has shortcomings, loopholes and it has not one or two but a number of shortcomings. From the very outset, a number of mistakes were committed. The time is short otherwise I would have told how the mistakes were committed in its organisation. The mindset of the Government is not clear about the parameters on which the public industry should be run. Whether these should be statutory corporations, whether they should be companies under Company Law or they should be industries run under the department. The Government is in confusion in this regard. The Estimates Committee has not once but many a times, said that the tradition of appointing Government officers as Managing Director and Director should be stopped. The Auditor General has pointed

out once and again, that the companies are made to register and run under the company law by the Government on the one hand and are equally criticised for the same. But the unfortunate thing in this country is that the Government does not think in this line.

One more point is there towards which I would like to draw the attention of hon'ble Finance Minister. It is that on one hand, the people have goodwill for the development of public industries and on the other, a lack of confidence has also been generated about them. Every single paisa of the capital of poor country should be utilized properly. Should it be used in the way it is being done today in public industries? You go through and you will find, not at one place, but at many places, such instances that crores of rupees are being spent to make magnificent cities there. In Rourkela alone, if I do not forget, ₹ 14 crores have been spent for that city. I think that some money should be spent, but the less money is spent, the better, because you know when there is shortage of funds, we should be careful in its usage. In this regard, I would like to place before you the opinion of the great economist W. Arthur Lewis:

> "Capital is so scarce in underdeveloped countries that it should be used most sparingly. What is needed is often the cheapest structure that will do the job. It is wrong to build schools or hospitals or thermal power stations capable of lasting fifty years, when a structure lasting thirty years would cost much less. Many such structures are pulled down in thirty years anyway, because of changing standards and rising income. Similarly, second-hand machinery is often more appropriate than new, and it may even pay to buy equipment which more advanced countries consider obsolete, if it can be had very cheaply."

But this is not taken care of while setting up public industries. The funds are released and are spent recklessly. Then Swatantra Party, Jan Sangh Party get this opportunity to say that money is being wasted in public industries. They are not earning profit and only expenditure is being shown. Our Government feels that parameter of development is only how much money was spent on developmental works. The Government has to change its mindset. It would have to see as to what extent production has increased from the expenditure on development.

Another point which we forget is that whereas expenditure is made on structure, the Government does not pay attention to increase trained technical manpower.

Only yesterday, hon'ble Minister had said in the House that the capacity of technical institutes cannot be increased due to unavailability of resources. The Government is not considering that point. On one hand, installation of

new steel plants is pressed upon in the House — there is much noise for Bokaro — on the other hand, technical hands cannot be trained. A seminar was organised on steel plant in Tatanagar in February this year and experts from Britain and India had participated in the seminar. You will be surprised to know as to what was the opinion of experts. The experts were from both countries *i.e.* India and Britain. It was said that steel industry cannot be promoted further because there is shortage of technicians due to less number of technical institutes. The Minister for Steel had said at that time that the Government is going to set up a new institute for steel cadets and I do not know when that institute would be opened for steel cadets. Two Five Year Plans have passed. The funds come from outside and structure is made; machines are manufactured, but those experts who can run these industries, are not available. An expert while mentioning lack of planning, said:—

> "Indeed, it is also a common fault of such programmes that they conceive of development too largely in terms of investment in concrete things, and too little in terms of investment in persons."

The Government should pay attention to this shortcoming.

Secondly I would like to enquire about the steps taken to keep an eye on the expenditure made and all the assets involved in it. Estimates Committee has been giving report and just now Public Accounts Committee of Lok Sabha has given its report. You may see it. Every para of this report says that expenditure has been made inappropriately whether it be in Steel Plant, Shipyard or Air India. The funds can be saved but the Government is silent. It has been said in the 3rd Five Year Plan that Parliamentary Committee would be formed to control this expenditure. Congress Parliamentary Committee under the Chairmanship of Shri Menon Sahib published a big advertisement and it says that a Committee would be formed, but it is surprising why the committee has yet not been formed. It is not formed because there is some difference between Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. Are we going to form a new India on the lines that Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha should have a fight over the issue of one member from this House becoming a member on the committee. All of you have been aware of its requirement for years, even then the Government is unable to do that. Today Parliament and Parliamentary Committee do not have control over them.

I would like to say something about labour laws. I would sum up in a minute. The Government said that labour policy should be implemented in the private sector and three days back, when we talked to Labour Minister as to whether it is right that labour laws are not implemented fully in public sector. He replied in style that yes, the laws are implemented,

though some shortcomings are there. Anyway, who is responsible for that? The people in power cannot put aside their responsibility by saying that some shortcomings are left. I would like to say that it has been said with regard to labour in the Third Five Year Plan:—

> "The enterprises of the public sector have a special obligation to follow labour policies. It requires a suitable wage policy with incentives, careful selection of personnel, organised training to improve the skills of workers at all levels, opportunities for workers to attain higher positions as their ability improves, active encouragement of workers to make suggestions to improve the operations of the enterprises and recognition of useful ideas by suitable rewards, etc."

Why is this purpose not achieved? It is not going to help if a Minister puts one's responsibility on other minister.

Hence, Vice-Chairman, Sir, through you, I would like to warn the Government that I am less worried about the quantity of production, or profit and loss made out of this production, but more fearful of the political conspiracy and political possibility behind it. The problem is not that Government would not be able to implement policy of nationalization or this Government is not setting up public industries properly. If the Government does not rectify its mistakes and do away with its wrong policies, then the future Government and the society would find it difficult to lead the country on socialist path. Then this Government would not only be responsible for shortage of new industries, for shortage of production, for wastage of money of the people, but also it would be responsible for spoiling the future of country. It is the responsibility of the Government to build bright future of the country. Hence, I am confident that the Government would keep it in mind while controlling and managing these industries so that regressive forces do not get a chance to challenge the basic concepts of public industries.

CREATION OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS*

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I congratulate the Minister for the success he has attained in bringing this Motion after an agonising delay of near about a decade. This question was first brought in Parliament before the Lok Sabha by Dr. Lanka Sundaram in December 1953. We are discussing this question in 1963. In 1953 when this question was brought in the Lok Sabha, the hon'ble Member, Dr. Lanka Sundaram, made certain very relevant points and he emphasized that such a Committee was imperative for the proper functioning of public undertakings. At that time a detailed discussion was held in the Lok Sabha and Sir, with your permission I should like to quote an extract from the speech of Dr. Lanka Sundaram because my hon'ble friend, Mr. Kesliwal, just objected to certain remarks made by the hon'ble Member, Mr. A.D. Mani, who spoke yesterday. If the Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had referred this question to a sub-Committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party in the beginning there would not have been any objection. But in 1953 this question was raised in the Lok Sabha and the Member who moved this question said:—

> "Each of these Corporations in India, today has become a monopoly without competition, small kingdom completely assigned to the overlordship of the Managing Director or the Chairman. But in the national interest something must be done immediately to ensure that the control of the Minister becomes effective, that the authority of the House is maintained."

In these words Dr. Lanka Sundaram recommended to Parliament that a Committee should be appointed. In 1956 again this question was raised by an hon'ble Member, Shri G.D. Somani, in the Lok Sabha. A detailed discussion for two days was held in the Lok Sabha and after that the Speaker of the Lok Sabha wrote a letter to the Prime Minister. Hon'ble Member have been quoting here this report of the Krishna Menon Committee. My friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, said that there was some obsession for Shri Krishna Menon. There is no question of obsession. It is question of propriety. I should like to quote from the letter that the Speaker wrote to the Prime Minister. The Speaker says:—

> "As the matter has cropped up several times in the House and there is a feeling about it, I see no harm in agreeing to the recommendation

* Participating in the Discussion regarding creation of Committee on Public Undertakings, Rajya Sabha Debate, 27 Nov. 1963, *cc*. 1268-1278.

of the Rules Committee for the constitution of a Separate Committee on autonomous bodies with functions specified in paragraph 2 above. The Committee will of course work under my directions and it will be my effort to see that they do not stray beyond the functions assigned to them or cause day-to-day interference."

The Speaker in this letter has very categorically said that he consulted the Rules Committee of the Lok Sabha and after consulting the Rules Committee, he come to certain conclusions and he makes the suggestion to the Prime Minister of India. And Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party recommends the case to a sub-Committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party. I should like to know from you, sir, was it proper for the Prime Minister to refer the matter to a sub-Committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party when this question was discussed at length two times in the Lok Sabha? Once it was done in the Rules Committee. The Rules Committee makes a recommendation and the Speaker of that House makes a suggestion to the Prime Minister. And after that, the Prime Minister refers this question sometime in May, 1958, if I do not mistake. In December, 1950, this Committee's Report is submitted by Shri Krishna Menon and his colleagues. There was wide publicity in the Indian press and the public took recognition of this Report. There was a conference at the Indian Institute of Public Administration. Twenty top persons from all over India—from the field of administration, from the field of business and also some top officials of the public undertakings—participated in the conference held on December 19 and 20, 1950 at the Indian Institute of Public Administration. This is the Report of that conference. Again, in this conference it was suggested that such a Committee was imperative, that it must be constituted, without any delay. No ordinary person was there in that conference. With your permission. sir, I would like to read out the names of persons who participated in this conference:—

1. Shri Asoka Mohta, M.P.
2. Dr. Gyan Chand, Retired Professor of Economic, University of Patna.
3. Shri K.N. Kaul, Chairman, National Mineral Development Corporation.
4. Shri S.S. Khera, Secretary, Department of Steel, Mines and Fuel.
5. Shri S. Lall, Chairman, D.V.C.
6. Shri D.L. Mazumdar, Secretary, Department of Company Law Administration.
7. Shri G. Pande, Chairman, Hindustan Steel.
8. Shri M.V. Pylee, Delhi School of Economics.

9. Shri R. Prasad, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs.
10. Shri S. Ratnam, O.S.D., Ministry of Commerce and Industry.
11. Shri R.P. Sarathy, Additional Secretary, Minsitry of Defence.
12. Shri M.L. Seth, General Manager, Delhi Cloth Mills.
13. Shri Vishnu Sahay, Secretary to the Cabinet.
14. Shri J.M. Srinagesh, Managing Director, Indian Refineries.
15. Shri N.N. Wanchoo, Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Department of Expenditure.
16. Porf. A.H. Hanson, Visiting Professor, Indian Institute of Public Administration.
17. Prof. V.K.N. Menon, Director, Indian Institute of Public Administration.
18. Shri M.S. Ramayyar, Deputy Director, Indian Institute of Public Administration.
19. Dr. Parmanand Prasad, Indian Institute of Public Administration.
20. Dr. H.K. Paranjape, Indian School of Public Administration.

These twenty persons of eminence and the top officers of the Government of India made a recommendation in 1959 and after that, in November, 1963, the Government has come forward with this proposal. What is the pretext? The pretext is that there was a difference of opinion between the two Houses. Are we going to create this impression among the people of this country and outside that the two Houses of the Parliament cannot agree for constituting a Committee? I do not want to enter into constitutional technicalities. I would submit only that the Constitution of India is not creating problems only today. But if we get any opportunity, more complicated problems will arise relating to the relations of the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha. But in this question, the point was very clear. We are not going to handle any financial thing, we are going to implement a policy enunciated by Parliament about the public undertakings. For implementing the policy by Government, both the Houses are equally responsible. But who, again, is responsible for this anomaly? Is it the Members on the opposite side? Some friends get very much excited when I say that this Government is not functioning properly that the super man in the Congress organisation is not able to have his hold on the Congress Party. I tell you, Sir, very humbly that I get mentally tortured when I think that a party having an overwhelming majority in both the Houses is not capable of constituting a Committee of Parliament for continuously ten years, and the pretext before the Houses, before the people of this country and before this world is that both the Houses cannot agree. Sir, I will give only

one quotation from the Report by Mr. Paul H. Appleby. He was asked by the Government of India to re-examine India's administrative system. Here is the Report published by the Government. I will read out what he has said in this Report about public undertakings. The Report was submitted some time—if I do not forget—in 1956. He says—

> "India is in fact in a state of emergency quite comparable to the condition that would obtain if the Nation was at war. Its success in this emergency depends upon rapid decision-making, rapid action. The present emergency is most acute on the front where new enterprises are in the building. As in war, the emergency dictates the establishing of procedures that have a maximum potential of acceleration consistent with the maintenance of democratic values."

This was the warning given by a man who was appointed by the Government of India in 1956 but nothing came to move this complacent Government of India of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. What was the reason? He is a man who has every praise for the Prime Minister. He says:—

> "There is no lack of idealism or of great vision in India or in the Indian Government. But far too much of the dynamism and imagination characterizing the setting of objectives is smothered in procedures dominated by small thinking."

They talk of high principles, they talk of socialism, they talk of democracy, they talk of public undertakings, they talk of nationalisation, they talk of everything but when there is a time to take decision, they are not able to do it. What is the reason? What is behind it?

The only reason is that they are not clear in their vision, they do not know their own goal. Whatever resolutions you may pass—you may pass a resolution in Jaipur, pass another more drastic, more dynamic and more socialistic resolution at Bhubaneshwar—unless and until you have that self-confidence to take that decision, unless and until you have that spirit to move the whole Nation in a particular direction, it is not possible to succeed in any effort at dynamising the whole society, at revolutionising the whole process of production.

With these words, I request Shri Kasliwal to consider the whole question in this context. The Prime Minister should have referred the matter if that was at all necessary to a Committee consisting of members belonging to all sections of public opinion. You go on doing things? .....I am not at all bothered about it because I know that I am a very small fish to fry, I do not boast too much but I am quite confident. If an hon'ble Member like Shri Sheel Bhadra Yajee thinks that the pleasure of the Prime Minister and the boasting of the Congress Party are much greater, much more vital than

the interests of the country, I am not going to question his authority. He has every right to claim that authority because he belongs to a party which has a majority in both the Houses, a majority which cannot be challenged for the time being, I think.

Now, Sir, I shall say a word about the management and about other complications in regard to these public undertakings. When the question of management comes, there are so many difficulties. The management is not able to take the initiative—I do not know why—the reasons may be valid, but the managers in the field say that they are not given proper authority by the Government of India, that there are hindrances in their way, while others claim that the managers are not keen to see that these public undertakings are a success, that the managers, the officers dealings with these public undertakings have no financial interest in the companies or in these corporations and so they do not take any interest in the proper management of these undertakings. Sometime back there was some reorientation or some reorganisation of the Hindustan Steel, but the bureaucracy was so dominant that it did not allow the complete process of reorientation, and the Minister in-charge was forced to have piecemeal reorganisation of this company. Now this bureaucratisation in the public undertakings should be fought; it should be countered, because socialism never means replacement of capitalism by bureaucracy; socialism never means monopoly of bureaucratic machinery in the field of industry.

Sir, I want to say a word about the profits of these public undertakings. My friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, when he was speaking and my learned friend, Shri Mishra, said that while the private enterprise is motivated by profit, we are motivated by loss. No, it is not a fact. There are certain considerations in the matter of our undertakings and we must understand them; but through you I shall submit that Government should take proper care to see that these public undertakings earn profits. Only two undertakings, the Hindustan Machine Tools and the Antibiotics, earn some profit. But it is not because of efficiency, Sir. It is because imports are prohibited, it is because a certain monopoly has been created for them. But we must see that it is the duty of the Government and it is the duty of the Committee that we are constituting, to see that these undertakings are able to stand the normal market competition in the country.

Sir, now another point I shall like to touch and it is that this Committee is not authorised to deal with policy matters. I do not know how Mr. Kasliwal tried to justify this. But it is not true to facts. When the Speaker in 1956 or 1957, made this recommendation to the Prime Minister, he categorically said that the proposed Committee will not go into the problems of day-to-day administration of such corporations but would not consider questions of policy and their working broadly.....

.....But the Government should give this authority to this committee and they should be enabled to go into matters of policy broadly and see whether the policy enunciated by the Government is implemented.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta raised the question of labour relations. It is a shame that in the public undertaking at Rourkela and in the oil fields of Gujarat, the Minister, a few days back, had to say that the labour laws made by the Government were not being implemented. Why so? In industrial relations these public undertakings should give a lead, and if they do not give a lead how will you say that the workers will be satisfied? The Government initiated the policy of workers' participation in managements. But nothing is being made in these public undertakings and I do not know how far Government is justified in doing so.

Now about the scope of this Committee, Sir, I shall say a few words more. Mr. Kasliwal rightly quoted Professor Robson who suggested that there should be an "Efficiency Audit", that some persons of eminence, economists, businessmen and other intellectuals should be there so that they may give a guiding line to this Committee. Not only this; in 1956, when the discussion was being held in the Lok Sabha, Shri Asoka Mehta, now Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission said that a specialised service should be available to this Committee, that this Committee should have a separate secretariat under the authority of the Chairman and the Speaker of the House, that they should not depend upon the normal channels of bureaucracy, that they should have separate machinery, so that they could scrutinise the whole affair of these public undertakings and could understand the right decision.

There is some other point, Madam[$]. I shall like to refer to the defence undertakings and I say that these are not within the purview of this Committee, and the only pretext again is that security matters are involved. I do not understand, if only administrative questions are to be looked after by this Committee, how security matters come in these defence undertakings. Not only the defence undertakings, a commission like the Khadi Commission, the Employees' State insurance, etc., these public undertakings are not within the purview of this Committee. I fail to understand the whole logic behind this category-making of the Government of India.

Madam, I shall like to say a word again and it is that this Committee should not function as a fault-finding body of the public undertakings. I totally agree with the recommendations of the Krishna Menon Committee and I shall request my hon. friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, not to press his point though it is good. I know that people are suffering there, workers are

[$] Smt. Violet Alva, the then Deputy Chairperson, Rajya Sabha.

being penalised, are being harassed, but if Parliament takes cognizance of every case, then we will be playing into the hands of those who say that Parliament should have no control over these public undertakings. Not only that, these officers, who do not want to take any initiative, who do not want to have any responsibility on their shoulders, well, they will have a lame excuse and they will begin to say that because Parliament is interfering too much, they are not going to do anything in these public undertakings, and this will give a handle to men like my friend, Shri Mishra, who will say that these public undertakings are devoid of all initiative, that they cannot be run on proper lines. So, Madam, I request that all the bickerings of the past should go. I am happy that after all the Lok Sabha has come to the conclusion and friends in the Rajya Sabha have also agreed, to work together in one committee. Let us consider all those constitutional complications on a future day, but now we must try to see that this Committee constituted by Parliament becomes a guiding star for the public undertakings and it formulates certain traditions that Parliament may have control over these public undertakings without killing any one's initiative and without killing its proper functioning in the field of industry and trade.

Thank you, Madam.

PREVENTIVE DETENTION (CONTINUANCE) BILL, 1963*

Hon'ble Deputy Chairman, Sir, generally, it is very difficult to maintain balance in politics and it becomes even more difficult when ruling party people are hell-bent upon tilting that balance. There are objections to further extension of the preventive detention law but it does not mean that we are not aware of the evils in the society. It does not mean that we are not aware of the fact that there are anti-social elements in the society who need to be brought under control. Our friends have told just now that this law is getting extension after extension in our country since 1950. The speeches given in 1950 in Parliament are being repeated today also. If even after 13 years of our independence, *i.e.* from 1950 to 1963, the number of criminals and anti-social has not come down, then, whether the Government have made any effort to find out the reasons therefor? Whether it has happened because of certain bad habits of the wrongdoers which can never be rectified? Or it is because of the presence of some opposition parties and some elements in the country who want to cause havoc and destruction in our society? Whether there are communist and anti-national people in the country who are to be reigned in by this law? Sir, I would like to submit with all humility that this is not the fact. It was anticipated that this legislation may not be required after sometime, however, the fact remains that we could not achieve the desired results from this law because the Government failed to move ahead in the right direction.

One hon'ble Member has just said, something which hurt me a lot. When Hon'ble Dahyabhai Patel was speaking, he spoke of Hon'ble Sardar Patelji and some hon'ble Member from Congress ironically remarked from behind that Sardar Patel could not get a son like himself. I don't find any logic in such type of remarks and I was even more shocked to see that Hon'ble Gulzari Lal Nanda was amused on hearing it. I would like to tell that Sardar Patel had given these powers in 1950 but there are specific reasons for not giving such powers to hon'ble Gulzari Lal Nanda and hon'ble Hajarnavis. Sardar Patel was a unique personality. Moreover, there is a lot of difference between the political atmosphere of his time and that of today, *i.e.* 1963. If opposition parties are to be blamed for 5 per cent, the Government must own 95 per cent responsibility for vitiating the atmosphere

* Participating in the discussion on Preventive Detention (Continuance) Bill 1963, R.S. Deb., 21 December 1963, *cc.* 4648-4658 (Originally in Hindi)

in these days. If they are not ready to take this responsibility, then it would make no difference. Sardar Patel has left this world but several Hajarnavis will come and go and this law would remain in statute book forever.

I, therefore, would like to say that while considering the question, we should think from a different angle. We should think as to whether the powers given to the Government are used judiciously? One of the hon'ble Members has said that if we have a guard, then, he should also be given powers. We are ready to give powers to that guard but while giving powers to him, his intention should also be checked. We should also check whether he is capable of firing in the right direction or not because, he may shoot himself with that gun. I would like to know from the hon'ble Minister that this law was made in 1950 and China attacked India in 1962. Then how the number of anti-nationals, traitors and people involved in espionage and spying activities increased during their rule in the last 12 years? Is Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda ready to own this responsibility and is Hon'ble Shri Hajarnavis ready to own this responsibility? If not, then the reason therefore is that you are in power and you can get away with whatever you want by making a law, but the people of India will never give you these unchecked powers again because you have failed to use these powers judiciously. These powers in the hands of inefficient Government were like a gun in the hands of a fool who does not know how to open fire in right direction. On the other hand, it is said that this is not used for political reasons but this is not the fact. Sir, you know very well as to how this law has been used by the Government. Hon'ble Professor Mukut Bihari Lal is in Jail at the moment. Hon'ble Nandaji or hon'ble Hajarnavis may stand up and say that opposition parties use harsh words. I do not know how will he feel if hon'ble Hajarnavis is lodged in some jail? Prof. Mukut Bihari Lal is neither a dacoit nor a goon. He has devoted his whole life for social causes sitting at the feet of Mahamana Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Then why is he in jail? For his service to society or, as my brother hon'ble Chordiaji has pointed out, for the reason that he just wanted to revoke the ban imposed on 'Gur'. Sir, five to seven days back I had advised hon'ble Thomas* Saheb to order an inquiry into this matter relating to Ministry of Food. Even today, I can say it with all confidence hon'ble Pathak** Saheb says that the whole matter should go before a neutral court/Judge, but I am sure if the whole matter of Ministry of Food goes to a neutral court/Judge, then, Hon'ble Thomas saheb and the people of his Ministry who misinterpreted this law to do injustice to the people, will be in jail and not Hon'ble Prof. Mukut Bihari Lal. This is also not a question of politics. Sir, I would like to tell you that this is not a question of Praja Socialist Party. I do not

* Returns to Shri A.M. Thomas, MOS, Food and Agriculture.
** Shri Gopal Swaroop Pathak, M.P.

have exact information, but people involved in 'Bhoodan Andolan' were about to start 'Satyagrah' at the same place in Ghaziabad where Prof. Mukut Bihari Lal started it. Sarva Seva Sangh has passed a resolution and the Khadi and Village Industries Commission has also passed a resolution in this regard but this Government is not ready to do this. Why? That is because the officers sitting with him misguide him. Then, What is the logic in giving powers to these guards.

Hon'ble Hajarnavis Saheb comes to us and asks for the power of Preventive Detention but would it be proper to put me behind the bar merely on the basis of a report prepared by a Sub-Inspector of Police from Allahabad or Lucknow. Hajarnavis saheb will simply read out the report of that police officer in this House. Since the matter is subjudice, I would not go into the details, but whether any Minister of Home Affairs can spare himself by only saying that hon'ble B.P. Maurya had given a speech eight months back and he is being arrested today for that speech. What is this? Even if he has committed a crime, then why is this eight months delay? He has been arrested after eight months somewhere in Delhi and even details are not provided to him. One day hon'ble Hajarnavis comes and brings a police report prepared by a Sub-Inspector from Allahabad Kotwali and reads it out before us. Then he asks for this power. This power is given to a Sub-Inspector, this power is given to a Reporting Constable of a Police Station who uses it arbitrarily and puts anyone behind bars under the Preventive Detention law and this Government simply reads out the same reasons here as told by the Police Officer incharge. Sir, I would like to tell you and this is a fundamental question that if the attitude of the Government does not change, then all these powers are going to be misused.

I would like to mention another case also. Just three days back, Shri Basawan Singh, M.L.C. and leader of Bihar Praja Socialist Party—Hon'ble Tarkeshwar Pandeyji is sitting here and he knows him for the last 35 years-was arrested and sent to jail under the Defence of India Act in Gomiah, Bihar where an explosive factory is located.....

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He has done some good work. The good work done by him is that he tried to channelize the prevailing resentment among the labourers of that factory in the right direction and wanted to get the demands of their Organisation fulfilled. Is this Government under the impression that there will be resentment among the labourers of the explosive factory and we will remain safe? I can't help it if hon'ble Hajarnavis saheb does not know that no explosive factory can be run without bringing contentment among its labourers. He should have cooperated in that case but he joins hands with others, the mill owners and he arrests and puts into jail those people who want to channelize that resentment. What is going on in the country?

My hon'ble friend Shri Abid Ali saheb has strongly objected to it, and expressed his anger against communists. I respect his feelings. But I feel pity when some people think that communists have just come into the picture from nowhere and the problem of Communism will be settled once and for all by putting ten communists behind the bars. This is a social problem. Sir, when resentment is there in the country, hunger and sufferings are there in the country, then how people will express it? If proper means are not provided to express it, then people will resort to wrong path. People of Communist party are not goons. They are the people who want to take the society in a new direction. It is a different thing that we consider them misguided and say that they are not on the right path, the path of humanity. We say that they have lost the feeling of humanity as they are over powered by jealousy and hatred. Whether hon'ble Abid Ali saheb intends to put an end to the communism through Preventive Detention Act without doing anything to end jealousy, hatred, inequality, poverty and famine. Without doing away with these evils, you continue to run the campaign of detaining Communists, these measures are not going to help you because if this party does not survive then another party will take its place. So, I am telling you that this Preventive Detention Act is not being used for eliminating the social evils but is being used to neutralize the efforts made by some people to eliminate the social evils.

Our main objection is on this point. Hon'ble Hajarnavis Saheb may not agree with the suggestion given by hon'ble Abid Ali that the people found to be involved in unlawful activities—be it black marketing, bribery or any other such act—should be nabbed and booked. He has also said that even if a Minister makes such a mistake, he should also be given the same treatment but whether this can be assured by Hon'ble Hajarnavis Saheb to the House? An hon'ble Member has just said that one cannot object to it because it has been used against Congressmen also. Who are these congressmen? It has been used but against rebel congressmen only.

One more thing I am saying for the third time in this House. A man by name Teja Singh Swatantra of Punjab was released in a case of murder and bank dacoity, only because the most influential political figure in India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was interested in withdrawing the case against him. I have said this on three occasions in this House. I will elaborate further this issue. An incident of bank dacoity took place in Ramnagar, Nainital (Uttar Pradesh) in which 13 or 14 persons were arrested. I don't know the exact number — and they are serving life term. 4 or 5 persons were absconding. After five to seven years, it was written to the Governments of Uttar Pradesh and Punjab to withdraw cases against those persons. At that point of time, the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh declined to withdraw the cases as Department of Law and Department of Home did not agree to

that. But again one more letter was written and the cases were withdrawn. I would like to ask as to what kind of patriotism or what kind of example they have set by doing so? What a way to glorify the Preventive Detention Act under which some people are sentenced with life imprisonment and some are allowed to go scotfree and what a way to maintain law and order in this country?

I would like to tell one more thing. People come and give different views. I would like to tell, specially to Hon'ble Hajarnavis saheb, that the officers of the Police Department and the Department of Home Affairs do not even visit the site of incidents and perhaps do not listen to any of our speeches in this regard and straightaway submit their self prepared report. There is an old story. I will tell that in a minute and conclude.

We have an old story in our 'Puranas' relating to Kartikeya and Ganesha who lived in the court of Lord Shiva. Both of them were sons of Lord Shiva. Once a question was raised as to who was great—Kartikeya or Ganesha? To decide the issue, it was said that both of them should take a round of the Earth and one who returns first will be considered the winner. What happened? Poor Kartikeya was an innocent and sincere worker. He hurriedly took the round of the entire universe and returned but Ganeshji remained at the same place and did not go anywhere. When he saw that Kartikeya was coming back, he immediately wrote 'Shiva' on the ground and took a round thereof and claimed that he was the winner and, hence, greater than Kartikeya. The question was asked, 'How are you greater?'. He replied, "The entire universe is assimilated in Lord Shiva. So whosoever roams around him, becomes all powerful. Ganeshji is continued to be worshipped but he himself did not experience as what the world is made of and what are the worldly things like rivers, mountains, nullahs and caves. The same is the condition of Government of India. Those roaming around Pt. Nehru are Ganesha and those roaming around Ganesha are small Ganeshas. Some officers visit the office of Hon'ble Hajarnavis saheb and claim that there is peace and prosperity in the world. But if you really want to build the country and understand the country, if you want to remove the ills of the country, and do not want to extend the time limit of Preventive Detention Act again, try to be Kartikeya instead of Ganesha.

To root out the evils in the society, one needs to find out the root cause thereof. Unless you do this, the Preventive Detention Law in the name of security will not be able to protect the country from destruction. If Hon'ble Hajarnavis saheb wants a solution to this problem, the Government need not enact more laws, it should only implement this existing law properly. Make your bureaucrats, administrative system active, alert and honest. Don't centralize repressive powers in their hands by enacting new laws. If

it is centralized, tomorrow you will have to face the music which we are doing today. Once the administration and bureaucrats get the power like this, then there is nothing to stop them.

In the end, I would like to give a warning. Some office-bearers of the ruling party in Pakistan had thought that they would be able to eliminate their opponents once and for all by using bureaucracy. When Pakistan was once affected by it, the power entrusting people were eliminated once and for all by the bureaucracy. The same was fate of democracy there. If Hon'ble Gulzari Lal Nanda thinks he would enjoy peace after arresting Hon'ble Prof. Mukut Bihari Lal and sending Shri Basawan Singh to jail, he is wrong because tomorrow, the same bureaucracy and Preventive Detention Act, will arrest him though neither I intend to nor I will be instrumental in it. I do not know about other friends; they would be very angry but I will be very pained. The freedom fighters who sacrificed their lives for freedom and self-governance in this country had only one hope and aspiration that every single citizen of the country should claim to be the native of a free country and free from any suppression. If the Government wants to break their hopes and aspirations and harass the public, we will oppose it with all our might.

ELECTORAL REFORMS IN INDIA*

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I respect the sentiment of hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta which led him to move this Resolution. I share his apprehension that big business and old feudal lords are trying hard to dominate parliamentary democracy in this country. I also appreciate the need to make an effort in this direction that reactionary forces should be checked from taking power in their hands. I also agree with him that all outside interference should be stopped and should be checked. But I fail to understand the demand of hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta that no preventive detention should be there without trial in this country. I pose a question before him.

He said that there are many people here who are C.I.A.$ agents and he said that Mr. Chandra Shekhar knew them. I do not know any individual. But I do know that the C.I.A. is working in all parts of the world and they might be working in this country too, and they are working in this country. But as the Constitution stands today, with a judiciary armed with powers, it is not possible for any person in this Government to prove that such and such man is an agent of the C.I.A. Even if the Government intelligence comes to know that a particular person is working on behalf of the C.I.A. what will be the advice of hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta as a socialist? Would he like that man to go to the court of law and the Government to go to the court of law to prove the charges against that particular person who is working as the agent of a foreign country? I hope being a Marxist himself, hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta will be one of the persons who will say that the man should be sent to jail without any trial. In the same way if any man is working on behalf of China or Pakistan or any other foreign country and is involved in espionage, in certain cases it may not be possible for the Government and the administrative machinery to prove the charges against him even though the Government may be convinced that the particular gentleman is guilty of doing espionage against the country, even though he is guilty of attempting to dismantle the whole fabric of our parliamentary democracy. I shall request hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta to consider his own personal experience. Once I repeated this thing in this House and very humbly I again put this point for his personal consideration.

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* Participating in the discussion on Resolution reg. prevention of intrusion of big money and use of Government machinery in elections, Rajya Sabha Debate, 2 December 1966, *cc.* 3764-3770.

$ Central Intelligence Agency.

He has been pleading in his own party, not the Communist Party of India but the Communist Party (Marxist) not to indulge in certain activities. But certain elements in that party have always over-ruled Hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta and not acceded to his request or his advice. Hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta cannot deny this fact. And only because of this reason he could not keep company with his erstwhile comrades who sacrificed a lot of their personal amenities and personal comforts for the welfare of the country. I do not deny their intentions but their mode of behaviour, their field of activity is something detrimental to the society which is in the mind of hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta to be established in this country.

In the same way I shall like to ask one question to him. Certain political leaders who have been friends of mine, with whom I had the proud privilege to work for years together, have been advising students and others throughout the whole country that they should emulate the example of the Indonesian students. I should humbly like to know from him whether the political pattern in India and Indonesia are the same.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, what I say is, there is a particular atmosphere in this country. There are certain draw-backs, certain deficiencies in our democracy. What are we going to do to remove those deficiencies? If hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta has come to the conclusion that this parliamentary democracy has no meaning and it should be smashed at all cost to enable a new society, a new dawning socialist order to come out of that chaos, as many responsible Members in this House and outside Parliament have been proclaiming in this country, people who claim to be Socialists, who claim to be the harbingers of the new social order, people who say let there be chaos and disorder in this country because chaos and disorder are better than the Congress rule, I am afraid they are mistaken.

If you have come to that conclusion, I have nothing to say. Then the Congress Government or the Government in power will deal with these people in the way they are being dealt with today.

Sir, I can assure hon'ble Godey Murahari that it cannot be a matter of pride for any Congressman, who is at least a sensible man to arrest any Member of Parliament or to arrest any colleague. But if duty calls upon the Government to take certain unpleasant action, they have to take it. It is not feeling of exultation or pride that Members of Parliament are arrested. Hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta has been pleading against the Government in the bitterest term for the last eighteen years he has never been arrested.....

Please take into consideration this aspect of the picture also because we are passing through a very difficult time. Hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta, if you want to encourage democratic forces, if you want to encourage progressive

forces, if you want to make an appeal to the progressive forces in the Congress you will have to change your way also. It is not good of you, it is not something high of you, for men in the Opposition who claim themselves to be Socialists, to take political advantage when some Shankaracharya is arrested. It is not very exalting for a socialist like Hon'ble Godey Murahari to shed tears for those reactionary forces.....who are trying to indulge in retrograde activities. I shall also request him not to be swept away by his ideas of great leaders who are completely frustrated and who have no face to show to the people of the country whether it is at the ballot box or elsewhere.

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It is not the ballot that determines the fate of a nation. It is the will of the people that determines the fate of a nation. Whether the Congress Government likes it or not, whether the S.S.P. likes it or not, the people of this country, the great Indian people will forge a new social order in spite of impediments. I assure hon'ble Murahari that the Congress Party with its dynamism is strong enough to forge that social order, and if anybody tries to come as an impediment in its march towards that social order, he will be crushed and the chariot of the socialist movement will go over his head whether the man may belong to the Congress Party or to the Opposition. I shall request hon'ble Gupta that if he is really wanting to achieve something, he must move an amendment to the Representation of the People Act that persons who are granted a Privy Purse should be disqualified from contesting the elections because if you take the history of the Indian Princes, the Rajas, the Maharajas and Nawabs, who are represented by Shri Lokanath Misra here in this House, only eighteen Princes were there before the British came to this country who were ruling certain parts of the country but all these thousands and hundreds of Rajas were created by the British imperalism only to protect the foreign rule in the country..... I see no reason why they should be protected now.

I hope hon'ble Patel, who is the champion of the downtrodden people of this country, will move an amendment that persons getting Privy Purses should not be allowed to contest the elections and I hope the hon'ble Members of the Swatantra Party.....

I hope Mr. Patel, as the Leader of the Swatantra Party, will give a statement to the country and in this House that the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution was in the right spirits, which gives.....the Fundamental Rights to the downtrodden people who have been exploited by these Princes for thousands of years.

I request hon'ble Gupta and hon'ble Murahari this. If you want to do away with exploitation, if you want that there should be no foreign

intervention in our elections, I request hon'ble Murahari not to play into the hands of reactionary power who are only indulging in political gymnastics, acrobatics, not only in this House but outside also, who are out to disgrace the parliamentary system, who are out to disgrace this parliamentary institution by their political acrobatics here in the House and if you want to have a parliamentary democracy for the rights of the people, you should see that parliamentary decorum, parliamentary democracy is maintained in this country and I hope then there will be no occasion for the Government to take this most painful action of arresting esteemed friends like Hon'ble Murahari for reasons of law and order.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE*

Madam Deputy Chairperson, I rise to perform a very sad duty, but because of my public responsibility as a Member of this House I think it is my sacred duty to express my views before you and before this House. My learned friend, hon'ble Karmarkar[#] thought it is proper to make certain remarks about the findings of the PAC. I shall not go into the details of that controversy, but I wish to assure hon'ble Karmarkar, through you Madam, that the PAC is always very considerate to any individual and more so to a Minister or a Secretary of the Government of India.

I say that the PAC in its Fiftieth Report and also in its Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth reports has observed that the decision of the hon'ble Minister in this context could not be understood. What was the reason? If you see the latest report, *i.e.*, the Fifty-fifth Report, the PAC has said that the hon'ble Ministers[$], Mr. Subramaniam, passed an order in November, 1962. If you compare that order with the order of July, 1963, you will find that there is no difference between the two according to the PAC and according to me also. I would have congratulated Mr. Subramaniam if he had stuck to his previous order of June 1963, because he was not dealing with an ordinary firm. I can assure you and through you the Government and this House that you cannot find a worse criminal case in the history of the whole financial crimes. You cannot give any example from any part of the world where one particular group of firms have been hoodwinking the country and the Government of India for the last fourteen years. It was clear that Mr. Subramaniam took courage to take some severe action against that firm and he rightly deserves our congratulations for his orders of June, 1963. But his subsequent attitude I do not know, because of what reasons, either he was forced or he thought it proper to change his orders.... I think the House does not know what was the circumstance under which Mr. Subramaniam had to pass this order. This group of firms was importing certain materials for Hindustan Steel from Japan if I am not mistaken and they imported inferior quality of steel. Against all rules, against all orders of the Iron and Steel Controller, this particular firm sold everything in the black market. When the inspectors went to see what happened, they said

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* Participating in the motion regarding 55th Report of PAC, R.S. Deb, 27 August 1966, *cc.* 4439-4445.

[#] Shri D.P. Karmarkar, M.P.

[$] Shri C. Subramaniam, Union Minister.

it was in the godown. When the inspectors went to the godown, nothing was there. They said it had been mixed and they wanted a period of one year for segregation. His predecessor was gracious enough to give one year's time for segregation. After one year when the inspectors went, they saw that there was nothing of Japanese origin.

On such a bad case Mr. Subramaniam was asked to pass an order and he rightly passed—in spite of the opinion of the Secretary and in spite of the opinion of the legal expert—the order of June, 1963. Now, Mr. Subramaniam in his explanation has said that there was a report from the Transport Ministry. What was the report? The report was only a communication on telephone from the Deputy Secretary of Iron and Steel to the Secretary of Transport Ministry. There is nothing in writing. There is only one noting by the Deputy Secretary in the Iron and Steel Ministry to say that there was nothing against Apeejay. I shall request, this Government through you to see that not once nor twice, but many times this Apeejay firm has also contravened all customs and excise rules. Mr. Gujral* was very right to say that there was not a single rule or regulation which has not been violated by this particular firm. They began these activities in 1952 and to this day it continues. I say even after raising my question very recently in last May they have purchased a firm in Calcutta. I forgot its name, but perhaps it is called flury. It is a Swiss firm. Another gentleman was to purchase it, but the Swiss proprietor wanted the money in foreign exchange and that gentleman could not purchase it. How have they been able to purchase it? Apparently something is there. From where does the foreign exchange come? This firm has done it even after raising my question in this House in May, 1966. I should like to invite your attention to this. The whole Parliament has been given time to discuss this firm, but nothing has been done against this except one order of the hon'ble Minister of Iron and Steel that no dealings should be there. Their papers have not been seized. Their houses have not been searched. After all, who is responsible for it? If such a firm was to be investigated. Mr. Subramaniam should have been very careful. I do not know whether he should resign or not, but I think it is my duty to point out that parliamentary decency, decorum and responsibility is involved in it. I have not much time, but there is a well-known case, the Crechel Down case, where parliamentary prestige and ministerial responsibility were involved in 1965. What happened in the House of Commons? One Minister of Agriculture defended an officer. What was wrong on the part of the officer? He was auctioning a patch of land and two bidders came, but a third one was given. The Minister defended the officer and ultimately it was proved that the orders of the Minister were not carried out in the right spirit. The Minister had to resign. I would

* Shri Inder Kumar Gujral, MP, Rajya Sabha.

have quoted the speeches of the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons and also of the Home Secretary. It was one of the most tragic days of the House of Commons. This was the spirit of the House of Commons. The Leader of the Opposition said: "We do not doubt the integrity of the Minister. This is the most tragic day known in the history of the House of Commons, but in order to keep the dignity of the House, in order to keep the decorum and decency of parliamentary life, we have no option but to insist on the resignation of the Minister of Agriculture." This is the tradition of the British Parliament. What tradition we want to evolve? It is for this House and for this country to decide. I congratulate the Prime Minister for the fact that she has agreed to appoint a committee to go into the matter, but what type of committee it should be? I am told that this committee can be given all powers under the Commissions of Inquiry Act. I do not know and I have very much doubt on the legal authenticity of this thing, but if the Leader of the House and Mr. Pathak[#] think that such a committee can be given this power, it is well and good, but you must remember that the Subramaniam affair is a very minor affair in the whole case. That is why I said that I have to perform a tragic duty, because the whole discussion was directed on a wrong path. Mr. Subramaniam who tried to do some good because of his own consequential mistakes had landed himself in this trouble. But who are the real culprits? The real culprits are those who have encouraged this firm from 1952 to 1963. I do not mean any individual. I mean the whole Iron and Steel Ministry. It is not so simple matter. When I raised this question of Mr. Bhoothalingam. I can very earnestly tell you that I do not know this man, I have no personal grudge against him. But, Madam, only a few days back one Mr. Reddy, who was Private Secretary to Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari, goes to Calcutta.

One officer of the Government of India goes to Calcutta and in a club in the presence of so many exporters and importers says that Mr. Chandra Shekhar has been paid ₹ 15,000 by Sahu Jain in order to malign Mr. Bhoothalingam, and it has been said that a number of those notes have been given to the hon'ble Finance Minister, Mr. Sachindra Chaudhuri. On a personal explanation, Madam, I want that this sort of propaganda should be stopped forthwith and I shall request the Leader of this House and this Government to muster courage to have an enquiry into the whole thing. I would have raised a question of privilege in this House but the officer and importers and exporters and others are not ready to declare that this was said. But this was communicated to me yesterday. In U.P. some officers of this Government go and enquire about my antecedents. This was told by one of the highest officers of the U.P. Intelligence Branch. Some of my hon'ble friends say, why are you so sentimental? I am a small man. I am a poor man. But I have to stand for my integrity, prestige and dignity and I request you, Madam, and request this House to take note of it.

[#] Shri G.S. Pathak, MP, Rajya Sabha.

Under the circumstances I should like to say that the Iron and Steel Ministry for the last nearly two decades has been the den of social goblins who are out to devour the sapling of democratic life of our country. In 1956 what happened? One individual who in the eye of the police is an imposter, is a crook, is a fraud, whatever it was, was challaned by the Iron and Steel Ministry. He gave an affidavit. Here is the photostat copy of the note that Mr. Bhoothalingam submitted to the Minister, hon'ble T.T. Krishnamachari, and I have passed this particular document, to all the relevant people in the Government of India. I do not get any reply. What is written there? It is written that all arrangements have been made by the S.P. Headquarters, by the medical experts, that this particular individual will be declared insane and cases will be started against him in different parts of the country.

Anyone can see this document. I say not only that, but that individual goes to the court of law and the Sessions Judge of Delhi in an order says that the S.P. is tampering with the records of the particular individual. I ask the dignitaries of this Government what they have to say. He may be a cheat, he may be a fraud, but he is a citizen of this country. He was in a high post of the Government of India getting ₹ 2,700 per month. He has got certificate from fifty most distinguished people of this country and abroad. I do not want to go into details. If this is the thing, I am afraid, Madam, that an individual who tried to raise his voice against corrupt official and against corrupt Ministers, his integrity, his life, his property and his whole honour are not safe.

So, Madam Deputy Chairperson, I shall request the Prime Minister, through you that unless and until the Inquiry Committee is given all the powers under the Commissions of Inquiry Act, nothing can be done because the P.A.C. has said that there is no record of how many import licences were given and to whom. Just think of it. It is not known for the last twelve years how many import licences worth how many crores of rupees were given by the Government of India. The country is suffering from an economic crisis, is suffering from the after-effects of devaluation. The hon'ble Minister of Steel is there, let him say if there is any record of how many import licences were given during the twelve years. It is in this report. I do not fabricate things. These people are not going to give any documents. If the hon'ble Prime Minister or if the Leader of the House finds that these should be obtained, all these papers should be seized, all the papers of the Amin Chand Pyarelal group should be seized and immediately police should move the S.P.E. and C.B.I. should move to see that records are not tampered with and people are not penalised and people are not harassed. Only then justice can be done.

Once again. Madam, I congratulate the Government for taking the initial step, but they should be more courageous and see to it that the real culprits are brought to book.

BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY BILL*

Deputy Chairman, Sir, with your permission, before I speak about this Bill, I would like to draw the attention of this House to the history which necessitated this introduction Bill's. In the year 1957 the Government realised that whatever was going on in the Banaras Hindu University was not right. The Mudaliar Committee was constituted at that time and my friend, hon'ble Bhupesh Guptaji had drawn our attention to this. After the presentation of the report of that Committee every individual having any kind of association with that University was embarrassed. I would not go into the details as to which extent the report was justified or unjustified. But I feel that any person, who knows a bit about Banaras Hindu University will accept this fact that the report was written in anger and it was not appropriate to accept the facts of the report in respect of any University and Banaras Hindu University in particular keeping in mind its traditions. The report was presented in 1957. In 1958, Government promulgated an Ordinance. There was a lot of hue and cry that it was a big blow to the autonomy of the University. After that an Amendment was brought in 1958. It was also said at that time that the Amendment Act was an assault on the autonomy of the University. The Government clarified that it is a temporary arrangement which would be changed very soon. Again, in 1961, another Bill was brought and it was said that a model Bill would be prepared which would equally apply to both the Aligarh Muslim University and the Banaras Hindu University.

I do not know as to whether the Bill introduced in 1964 by Minister of Education in the House is the same model Bill for which this House, the country, the University had been asked to wait for. I do not think that, this is a model Bill for any University—be it Banaras University, Aligarh University or any other University. This Bill has been introduced in 1964 and I am very sorry to say that the intention, the spirit of this Bill is the same as conveyed in the report of Mudaliar Committee. The fury under which the report of the Mudaliar Committee was prepared has been pacified to some extent, but the issue of granting autonomy to the University has remained unresolved by this Bill. The Government is going to set up University court through this Bill but half of the people in that court will be from outside. How many

* Participating in the discussion on Banaras Hindu University (Amendment) Bill, 1964, Rajya Sabha Debate, 24 November 1964, cc. 983-991; R.S. Deb., 10 November 1965, *cc.* 813-22; and the Banaras Hindu University (Amendment) Bill, 1965, Rajya Sabha Debate, 29 November 1966, cc. 3144-49 (Originally in Hindi).

people will be nominated and how many will be under the influence of the Government.

Sir, I would like to say through you that my friend, hon'ble A.D. Mani Saheb was just advocating to give powers to the Vice Chancellor, but while giving powers you must ensure that Vice Chancellor does not misuse those powers in the name of discipline. The Government will explain that whenever Vice Chancellor takes any action, he will do so wisely keeping natural justice in mind. But, Sir, I would like to say through you as to how many decisions were taken in Banaras Hindu University during the last three to five years and on how many decisions, teachers have gone to the court of law. lt is a pity that a Judge is holding the post of Vice Chancellor over there. Not once or twice, but in several cases the Allahabad High Court has said that the decision of the Vice Chancellor was wrong and the teachers were deprived of their rights by a Justice who is acting as a Vice Chancellor also. I want to make this point in the context of the statement made by hon'ble A.D. Mani Saheb that nothing is going to happen even if any Vice Chancellor usurps the rights of the students or the teachers.

Sir, my association with this University was not very long. I was a student of this University for two months only. I went there to pursue my research in political science under hon'ble Prof. Mukut Bihari Lal.

Sir, I tell you that it is not a question of giving powers to a Vice Chancellor. A Vice Chancellor must possess some qualities by which he can maintain discipline among students. Sir, will you forgive me for saying that I did not visit Banaras Hindu University for four years merely because one had to take permit for that. Nothing can be more shameful for a temple of education. This Government may feel proud that peace is prevailing in Banaras Hindu University today. My friend hon'ble Bhupesh Guptaji is not aware of the situation over there, but there is no student union and this is the situation of Banaras Hindu University today that students cannot form a Union over there. Professors were used to attend every seminar and symposium, be it related to politics, spirituality or education in large numbers in Banaras Hindu University. What is the present scenario? If I say anything wrong, hon'ble Professor Mukut Bihari Lalji who is sitting here, may correct me. Today, I would also like to urge upon the hon'ble Minister of Education to conduct a survey as to how many Professors of Banaras University have attended the seminars held inside or outside the University, be it in Kashi Vidyapeeth or in the Gandhi Tatva Vichar Parishad since the Mudaliar Committee report came out? Professors of Banaras Hindu University do not attend these seminars as they are scared that they will be called for an explanation. I am saying this on the basis of my personal knowledge. An

[#] Dr. A.L. Madaliar, Chairman of the Committee.

atmosphere of terror and distress is prevalent in the entire University. This University was founded with a view to impart education on Indian culture, civilization and ancient Hindu 'Dharma'. There has not been a single 'Rishikul' or 'Gurukul' in entire country in which army or police force has ever been deployed by any ruler, no matter how great he was. But Banaras Hindu University is being run today under the tight security and terror of armed and police forces. I would like to request you to take note of it.

I would like to say one more thing. I do not know Justice Bhagwati personally, but an incident hurt me a lot and I may be forgiven for mentioning the same. I remember three instances of three Vice Chancellors. First instance is of a sitting M.P. (Lok Sabha) of Congress party and I think it is not appropriate to disclose his name. His father was working for a Collector during British rule. He passed the High School examinations and his father approached the Collector and told him that his son had passed the High School exams. The Collector offered him job but he refused and said that he had come to know that Malaviyaji* had opened a school and requested the Collector to write a letter to Malaviyaji to admit his son in the school. After taking the letter from British Collector, that poor father, a peon went to Malaviyaji and gave that letter to him. His son completed all his education in the University and not only he but his sons and relatives were also offered education there as they had old connections with the University. So this is one incident. The second incident which I remember is of Acharya Narendra Devji's period. A communist boy went to him just two days before the examinations of the University and said that he could not take the examinations. Narendra Devji asked, "Why? He said that Rupees three hundred were due on account of fee and requested him to arrange the amount from "Poor Boys Fund". Acharyaji said that no money was left in the "Poor Boys Fund". He asked, "What should I do?" Acharyaji called his Private Secretary and gave a cheque of Rupees three hundred to the boy. He was a South Indian student who said 'Acharyaji, I am not a socialist; I am a communist'. The reply from Acharya Naredra Devji was, "This cheque is from the Vice Chancellor to a student of this University; not from a socialist to communist".

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This was the case of second Vice Chancellor. Third instance is related to Justice P.N. Bhagwati, whom we are very proud of, who is a Justice and whose Judicial wisdom is beyond doubt. Brother of Shri D.P. Singh of Praja Socialist Party, the erstwhile member of this very House, approached Shri Bhagwati in connection with the admission of Shri B.P. Koirala's son. Shri Koirala was the Prime Minister of Nepal and was in jail at that time.

* Referring to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

The younger brother of Devendra Babu took the boy to Justice Bhagwati. On hearing that the boy's father was in jail and his own future was quite uncertain, Justice Bhagwati replied that it hardly mattered that he was the son of Shri B.P. Koirala, the boy would not be admitted even on the instance of Raja Mahendra. You give powers to Justice Bhagwati. Peace and discipline can never be maintained by merely giving powers to the people. The students of that University will never pay respect to their 'Guru' and will never obey him.

I would like to point out one more thing. Sir, how much representation has been provided to the teachers in the Executive Council? The Vice Chancellor can not only suspend the students but can also dismiss the teachers at his own will. I have just pointed out that the way action was taken against the teachers in Banaras Hindu University and this act has been criticized by all the Justices.

My second point is that from 1957 to 1964, *i.e.* for seven years, the entire country and its people were made to wait for a model Bill but what was the hitch in bringing a model Bill on the basis of Kothari Committee Report. I do not know what is going to happen with this Bill introduced by the hon'ble Minister of Education. It has been referred to the Select Committee. Whether it will be completely changed by the Select Committee or another model Bill will be prepared and introduced again when Kothari Committee submits its report, after passing of the Bill. Sir, I would like to urge you to take some serious steps to resolve this issue by giving it considerable thought and rising above the sentiments while considering the issue of discipline in educational institutions. I would also like to request the hon'ble Minister of Education to withdraw this Bill and bring the model Bill after the submission of Kothari Committee's Report or any other expert Committee's report which may provide autonomy to the University, inspire the students to be disciplined and may give wisdom to the Vice Chancellor for discharging his responsibilities.

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Madam Chairperson, before I speak about the other features of the Bill relating to that University, I would like to invite your attention to what Prof. A.R. Wadia has just mentioned. I would like to make a request to Prof. A.R. Wadia with all humility that before sermonizing Members from Uttar Pradesh on adopting a pan-India approach, he and other friends like him should introspect. I say it with a great amount of pride that in the entire country, I don't mean to say that other States are lagging behind, Uttar Pradesh has neither looked at provincial politics nor the university politics and nor has Uttar Pradesh taken any interest in Central Government politics with parochial attitude. Revered Shri Madan Mohan Malaviyaji had established that University in Uttar Pradesh with the sole objective that

there should be pan-India approach in the entire country. I would, therefore, like to ask Prof. Wadia whether it would be right that the University should open its gates for all others for admission sans the people belonging to Uttar Pradesh or nearby areas of Banaras. Today, entire judicial wisdom and human sentiments of bigwigs are invoked but where were all these sentiments and wisdom when a person of Dr. Hajari Prasad Dwivedi's stature was removed from that university. I would not like to say anything against respected Shri Dar Saheb.

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Hon'ble Madam, I would like to say that this is a Select Committee Report. Whatever little knowledge of Parliamentary practices I have, I can say that the proceedings of any committee or any select committee are not made public. A controversy cropped up just now and hon'ble Professor Wadia said that whatever Dr. B.N. Prasad said was not correct. Voting took place twice in a day. Is it proper for any Chairman of a Parliamentary Committee to say in his Note of Dissent that the decision of the Parliamentary Committee was taken on the spur of the moment? Does it not tantamount to the criticism of the act of the Committee? For me, this is totally against the Parliamentary conventions. His thinking may be great, his feelings may be noble, but I regret it because it has been our convention that be it hon'ble Wadia Saheb or any other VIP, the Parliamentary conventions cannot be changed to suit some one's thinking, feeling and whims. No doubt, there are legal rights but a Parliamentary democracy has its own conventions and they are as important as legal rights. As far as I know, perhaps no Chairman of a Parliamentary Committee has ever appended a Note of Dissent. This new convention has been started by hon'ble Wadia Saheb. If he is proud of starting a new convention disregarding the existing Parliamentary conventions as it seems to me, I think there cannot be anything more degrading than this in a Parliamentary democracy. I do agree that he has every right to speak on the report wherever he disagrees. I do agree that he can give his opinion, but the functioning of a Committee would be impossible if the Chairman of the Committee appends a Note of Dissent. Secondly, he has said that the Committee took the decisions on the spur of the moment and without any deliberations. I also say in the same vein that if the Chairman of a Committee thinks that he wants to append a Note of Dissent, he should not remain on the post of Chairman of that Committee even for a minute.

Hon'ble Wadia Saheb just gave a long speech wherein he said that removal of both the Registrar and the Vice-Chancellor would be against the sense of justice. This would be the biggest loss. There has never been such a loss in the country nor will be in future. Hon'ble Gopal Swaroop Pathakji is not present. He quoted Gandhiji in his speech and said that what would happen to our prestige? What would happen to our policy of non-violence admired the world over. I would like to tell hon'ble Prof. Wadia Saheb that

it is stated in the report which he has presented that since the Vice-Chancellor appeared before the Committee, it is right to take a decision on him, but the case of the Registrar is different. If Prof. Wadia Saheb is guided by the same sense of justice, then why did he give a Note of Dissent opposing the removal of Vice Chancellor?

Today, it is said that we appoint intellectuals and eminent persons for smooth running of universities, but I would say only one thing, Madam that Dar Saheb was appointed Reader in the Department of Philosophy in place of Dr. T.V.R. Murthy. Professor Wadia may feel proud of it. The supporters of Dar Saheb may be proud of it, but when I go through the history of that period, I feel as to how a single person could lead the entire society in a wrong direction for years together.

This gentleman got himself appointed in place of Dr. T.V.R. Murthy. Efforts are being made to dilute the report of the Parliamentary Committee in both the Houses of Parliament to protect a person. I told Shri Pathakji when he was speaking, that as per the principles of natural justice, he feels that no person should be terminated from his post without giving him an opportunity to be heard. Madam, you might recall that a law was enforced during the strike of railways, which is in force even today. Services of hundreds of railway workers are terminated with a Presidential Order. None of them can go to the court of law. They cannot file a case and they cannot go anywhere for redressal of their grievances. It is said that terminating their services was essential in the interest of the society as well as the country. When the Ordinance in respect of this University was promulgated in 1958, it was said that all necessary steps, if required, should be taken to do away with all the acts of omission and commission of wrong-doers. Earlier, when this Bill was discussed in the House, I had said that the attitude of the Vice-Chancellor of the University was not good. At that time, there were not much differences between the Registrar and the Vice-Chancellor. At that time, Prof. Wadia and hon'ble Gopal Swaroop Pathakji did not care as much for him as they are doing now. I do not know as to how good sense prevailed on the Parliamentary Committee to curtail powers of the Registrar as well. This unholy conspiracy of subverting democratic traditions in favour of a person should be condemned vehemently. In this connection, I would like to say that in order to run the University properly, if the services of the lecturers and professors can be terminated and students can be deprived of their education for years together without any reason, then hon'ble Dar Saheb and hon'ble Vice-Chancellor, N.H. Bhagwati Saheb, should also make some sacrifice, if required. It is being asked as to why the Parliament has to intervene in this matter. The hon'ble Minister of Education will also be under so much pressure that he will not be able to remove the Registrar and the Vice-Chancellor. As the Registrar

and the Vice-Chancellor can turn things in their favour, the hon'ble Minister of Education and his entire Department will be unable to remove them from their posts, unless he is supported by this Parliament. So, I would like to submit that they themselves should resign from their posts as hon'ble Akbar Ali Saheb had also requested. I think that democracy is not being undermined and no heinous crime is being committed, so, if the Parliament is compelled to take such a step in the interest of the University, it should definitely act accordingly. I would like to congratulate the Parliamentary Committee that it has made its recommendation to us. I would like to submit this much only.

As far as the name of the University is concerned, I am in favour that it should be named as 'Kashi Vishwavidhyalaya'. Whenever controversies in respect of the names of the Universities have arisen, I have always stated that no University, particularly Universities funded and run by the Central Government should be named after Hindus, Muslims and Christians. However, arguments can be put forth for and against such proposal. Without going into this controversy, I would only like to say that the name of this University should be changed to Kashi Vishwavidyalaya.

I would like to draw your attention to another aspect which is regarding the membership of student unions. Dr. B.N. Prasad had said that the Parliamentary Committees have done a great job. I would like to know from you also as to what these student unions are? These student unions are part and parcel of the education system. A student is asked to undergo NCC training and it is considered mandatory for him. All the Members would agree that if military education is to be imparted, then it will have to be made mandatory for each student. I would like to know that similarly, is it not essential for every student to be given the opportunity to work in a union or association to get educated about the civic system, Parliamentary system which is the bedrock of the political system in the country. It has led to several controversies both, for and against it, agitations have taken place and after an agitation in Uttar Pradesh in 1947, it was decided that the membership of student unions should be mandatory for all the students, a view that had also been emphasized by doctor saheb after an agitation in Prayag Vishwavidyalaya. I would like to say that if you are in favour of military education for students, then in the same vein, it is necessary to impart this knowledge to the students from the very beginning as to how they should carry themselves in their student union life so as to be introduced to the Parliamentary system of democracy and the ethos governing it. I don't think that discipline can be brought about only by banning the student unions. Reference had been made about eminent Vice-Chancellors and their accomplishments, but it is equally pertinent to note that during their stint in the universities, student unions were active which contributed

to the welfare of the country. Hon'ble Member, Shri Godey Murahari said that the accomplishments of the student unions in 1942 form a golden chapter of Indian history. I think that there are several hon'ble Members in this House who are least concerned with that chapter for it does not fit in with their line of thinking, but those who remember that historical year of 1942 wherein activities of the students of Kashi Vishwavidyalaya formed an integral part, can never subscribe to the notion that the membership of student union necessarily leads to indiscipline. This also makes one learn to act with responsibility to achieve bigger goals.

I would like to add one more thing. Hon'ble Tarachandji had drawn your attention towards that issue. The question is that the Professors and others should have a say in choosing the Vice-Chancellor. He has rightly said that you cannot take a step forward with so much doubt on the teacher who you think should be the spiritual and moral guide of the students. Hon'ble Dr. Sapru had said at that time that if democracy is further allowed there, then these teachers should try to control the office of the Vice-Chancellor. I am surprised to hear it because on one hand, Dr. Sapru maintains that Communists in Kerala should be given full freedom otherwise it will erode democracy.

On the other hand, it is said that there should be a limited democracy for university students and lecturers. It is so strange. Sometimes, I am surprised that the veteran leaders who speak so judiciously in the House made such contradictions in their speeches that it becomes difficult for a new member like me to understand as to which of their views is correct. On one hand, they want full democracy for those who are acting against the interests of the country and on the other hand, limited democracy for those who are the makers of the future India and who will be spiritual and moral leaders of tomorrow.

*I'll conclude in a minute.

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Second thing I want to say in this regard is that I strongly oppose the idea of associating the nearby colleges with the University because it will be against the spirit of the revered Madan Mohan Malaviyaji. If you see the layout and look into the planning of that University, you will find that Malaviyaji had envisaged that this university would be on the lines of ancient 'Rishikul', a temple of learning where all the required facilities will be available and the students will get education in a new environment and in a new atmosphere. I do not think that there is any need to deviate from that concept. After all, there is no shortage of Universities in

* In reply of Deputy Chairman's ruling, "Your time is over".

Uttar Pradesh. Gorakhpur University is situated at a distance of hundred miles from there. All the colleges can be affiliated with that university.

Sir, in the end, I would like to emphasise that during the course of discussion on this Bill, it should be kept in mind particularly by the Chair as to how far we move away from the parliamentary democracy even while claiming to uphold parliamentary democracy. The proof of it is that we resort to different tactics to negate the recommendations of a Parliamentary Committee. The soon this tendency is curbed, the better it will be. I want that if any ruling does not come from you, a word of advice should come from you, Sir, as to how the Chairmen of the Parliamentary Committees should behave in future, otherwise anything can happen tomorrow. The proceedings of the Parliamentary Committees cannot remain confidential. The hon'ble Members who express such views should remember that other Members can also have their own views. I would have agreed if all this had been done judiciously and only if this wisdom had been shown earlier, but, this wisdom prevailed only when an issue of a particular person came to the fore.

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I rise to oppose this amendment. I am opposing this not because I intend to protect the privileges of Rajya Sabha, rather, I oppose it with the only intention that there should not be any violation of the principles. Earlier when this Bill was introduced, I had submitted that as per the principle the word "Hindu" should not be the part of the name. There had been a controversy on this issue. I am surprised to note that many thinkers are of the opinion that such amendments and reforms are not advisable if the public opinion does not favour them. In this regard, they have also quoted Mahatma Gandhi. I would like to remind that Mahatma Gandhi had to face a lot of difficulties when he initiated the work of 'Harijan' emancipation. Secondly, I would like to clarify as Ansari* Saheb had said that the Hindu word has been frequently repeated, and Mahatma Gandhi also stated that he was a Hindu. It does not matter whether one is a Hindu or a Muslim in one's life, but injecting this feeling into the social life goes against the principles of secularism. Mahatma Gandhi did not set up any institution bearing a Hindu name. I would like to convey to my friends of the Congress and to other friends that Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, who had a dream of his life to establish a secular society, made two points on two occasions. Once, while on a visit to Nepal, he was asked to visit the Pashupati Nath temple for 'darshan'. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru replied, "I would not like to go into the temple as every human being is like a temple for me." Secondly, while addressing a meeting in Lucknow during elections in

* Referring to Shri Faridul Haq Ansari, M.P.

1957, he was asked a question—'What are your views in regard to cow protection?' At that time Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru replied that in case that was not meant for the betterment of the human beings, there was no difference between a cow and any other animal for him. The makers of a new society learn to go against the currents of the society and dare to do so. Such kind of publicity has got just one importance. I agree with my friend Niren Ghosh[#] that we introduce such amendments under pressure from the reactionary policies and no democracy, no parliamentary system could function or be successful where a handful of people resort to rioting and arson and the Parliament is compelled in its aftermath to withdraw its amendments or change. Madam, I would like to submit to you that if the democratic system has to be retained and the faith of the people has to be sustained so that the social forces in the country could be altered even through democracy and the parliamentary system, then it is essential that progressive steps taken should never be withdrawn. Some of our friends contend that the Hindu or the Muslim name does not matter. In this regard, I would make a point before concluding my speech. Marx wrote a very good thing in the preface of his treatise, "Das Kapital", probably in the preface to its German edition. It was that all come to the same level in terms of principles. He gave an example that the Pope of the Church of England may deliver a speech against the 37 cardinal members out of the total 38 who are with him. He may teach that the Jesus has taught that all are the children of one God and in principle, he would say that one should rein in one's anger and resentment, should not resort to fighting, but watch his teachings in case one strives to forcibly occupy a piece of land belonging to him. He would forget all the preachings of the Jesus and attack the person with the 'Cross'. These friends who take the name of the Hindu or the Muslim, express a lot of feeling of love in principle, but take no time to come to an attacking mode wherever there is a slight violation of their vested interests.

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*I would give you the definition. I agree with you as also Pt. Tarkeshwar Pandey** that we have had a glorious history and I take pride in inheriting scriptures like Vedas and Puranas. But one who values the teachings of Vedas and Puranas as eternal truth, and on account of his or her belief in the glorious past allows the society to degenerate.....

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I would like to submit that taking pride in one's past and upholding the cultural dignity is one thing, however, visualizing a healthy future and shaping the future in consonance with and on the basis of the past is an

[#] Shri Niren Ghosh, M.P.

* Responding to the comment of Shri Niranjan Verma, "Can you define communalism?"

** Shri Tarkeshwar Pandey, M.P.

act of sagacity. Always taking refuge in the past is reactionary. It is again a reactionary attitude to glorify the past and find no fault in the past. Hon'ble Pandeyji recited a shloka. He said that it was extremely reactionary. The shloka may have relevance to that period. Religions are born in a certain given situation and context. As the prevalent conditions of the specific period influence the religion, the society and economic relations and as the economic relations and mutual relations of various sections of society keep on changing with the change in time, similarly the sentiment of religion and the ways and means of propagation of religion will have to change. There is no denying the fact that religious scriptures give us very valuable teachings. However, it is also written in Hindu religious scriptures that the Aryans should work towards bringing the entire world into Aryan fold. Our colleague, hon'ble Vermaji may take pride in propagating such things but I feel shame on it.

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*You do not understand religion because you do not follow one. Religion is a catalyst for the growth of the society and the religion can allow the society to grow only when it facilitates progressive steps for the development of the society because a society which tends to remain static will infact slide toward decay and destruction and ultimately meet its downfall. A society may either progress or witness its downfall. A society cannot remain static because it is inherently dynamic. If we want to make the Indian society dynamic and make it to move forward like water flows in the Ganga, then we shall have to shun the practice of citing these old shlokas, we may remember those shlokas and draw inspiration from them but in accordance with those "shloka".

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**Madam, hon'ble Pandeyji narrated such pedantic words. One more dictum enumerated in the Hindu religion says that the king who protects the cows and the Brahmins is an ideal king and I crave for such a King. But I do not desire to have such a king because Brahmins have exploited the society and they will have to pay for this exploitation. You will have to allow the society to change whether you like it or not lest the unstoppable chariot of history, the vehicle of social change runs over us and crushed us

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* Responding to the comment of Shri Niranjan Verma, "You are, perhaps not well versed with the Hindu religion. Arya is a varna, a vedic dharma."

** Responding to the comment of Shri T. Pandey "He will appreciate its connotation, I do not crave for the Kingdom, I do not yearn for the heaven, I do not aspire for emancipation". *"Na Twaham Kamye rajyam na swargam-punarbhawam"*. Sanatan Dharma aims to salvage not only human beings but all living creatures afflicted by grief *"Kamaye dukh taptam praninam artinashanam"*.

if we attempt to stop it. No power on earth can protect us from the onslaught of the wheels of time. Thus, I would like to request the hon'ble Minister to support the progressive steps taken by the Rajya Sabha and advise the hon'ble Members of Lok Sabha not to create hurdles in the path of progress otherwise the wheels of the chariot of history are not going to stop and will run over every impediment that may come in its path of journey.

NATIONAL UNITY AND INTEGRITY

LAW AND ORDER SITUATION*

Vice-Chairman, Sir, I was suprised and shocked to see the wording of the Resolution that was moved by my esteemed and revered colleague Shri Mahavir Tyagi. Shri Tyagiji not only a Member of Parliament, but he is also a valiant freedom fighter and I can say that he is one of the leading persons who was in the closest touch of Bapuji. When Tyagiji says that very fast people are losing faith in the present system of Government and they are threatened about the security of their lives and property, it seems amusing and fantastic.

I am not concerned about the Government. I am concerned about the last sentence of the Resolution. There you have tried to emphasise that this situation which is developing in the country is causing anxiety among the people because there is no security of life and property.

I am concerned about this particular phrase. May I request Tyagiji, through you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, to ponder over one problem? How many millions of people in this country have no property at all? What is their concern? Very conveniently Tyagiji and men of his thinking forget that there are millions in this country who have no property.

Vice-Chairman, Sir, I was just emphasising the point because, if millions are starving, if they are under squalor, poverty, misery and degradation, how can you ask them to keep this facade of parliamentary democracy running for a long time?

But who is to be blamed? It is the Government who will have to come to the rescue. It is for you, Mr. Tyagi, to create the proper atmosphere for a change in the social structure. The present trouble which is emerging in this country is because of the present system of our social structure which is based on the exploitation of the common man and the common man is not guaranteed the minimum needs of his life. You cannot ask him or persuade him to have patience for time immemorial.

A man who is starving does not hear any call but the call of hunger, the call of his degradation, poverty and humiliation and if they rise in revolt, what is wrong in it? My friend, Shri A.D. Mani, who very often gets worried

* Participating in the discussion on Resolution regarding deterioration in maintenance of Law and Order in the country, R.S. Deb., 14 August 1970, *cc.* 188-194.

about anything which happens in this country or outside which brings about social change, said that West Bengal will become another Vietnam. I do not like that West Bengal should be another Vietnam. But what is wrong if West Bengal becomes another Vietnam because of our failures, because of the failures of the Government, because of the failures of the leaders? Who are responsible for changing the social order? Where is the dream of Mahatma Gandhi of 'Ram Raj'? Where is the kingdom or empire of *'Daridranarayan'*?

Shri Tyagi or friends like him never bothered about the concentration of economic power in the few hands. He never bothered that millions are evacuated and ejected from their lands. Once, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I had said in this House that everybody was saying that the Constitution was crumbling because certain people are grabbing certain pieces of land. I had the privilege of working with Shri Raj Narain in the P.S.P. Not one or two families, but hundreds of thousands of families were ejected in U.P. when Tyagiji was in the Government. He never bothered about their ejection. He never bothered about their right of property. He never bothered about social security. And, not only that they were ejected, but they were beaten black and blue, they were humiliated and they were degraded. He never bothered to wipe off their tears. If they are rising in revolt, there is a hue and cry in this country.

Vice-Chairman, Sir, who is responsible for all these things? I was very patiently hearing his speech. Shri Goray depicted the picture of today's politics in this country. He said something about the happenings in this House yesterday. Now, anybody will hang his head in shame. Time and again, we go on committing ourselves to socialist policies. Time and again, we give the people certain hopes and aspirations. Mr. Vice-Chairman, our party to which I have the proud privilege to belong goes on giving all hopes to the people but when it comes to implementation and facing the resistance of the vested interests, we crumble, we falter and we vacillate. If the people feel that these parliamentary institutions, these democratic institutions, are not going to render justice to them, what is left to them? Should they die of hunger and poverty? Should they endure everything so that our seats in Parliament are secure? Mr. Mani and Mr. Mahavir Tyagi might be bothered about the present social structure and the present law and order problem. But what is law and order for the man who does not get even his two square meals and who does not get anything to live on? This is the situation in this country. Mr. Vice-Chairman, anybody who has something to do with Mahatma Gandhi, his blood will boil to see the present situation in the country and he will not sit silent. I agree with Nana Saheb Goray that sometimes in a parliamentary democracy we have to compromise certain things which no honourable person would like to tolerate. Yesterday when my friend, Mr. Arjun Arora, raised his voice, I was surprised

to see that friends from my party just pounced upon him as if he was trying to say something about the moral and ethical principles of parliamentary democracy.

Now, Sir, I would like to quote Mahatma Gandhi in order to bring to the notice of Narayan Saheb Goray that it is not the fault of the Congress Party alone; it is inherent in the parliamentary situation itself. Mahatma Gandhi in his book *"Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule"* has written something about the British Parliament and I think unfortunately the situation is developing to be the same in this country also. What had Mahatma Gandhi to say about parliamentary institutions or Parliament in England? He said:—

> "That which you consider to be the Mother of Parliaments is like a sterile woman and a prostitute. Both these are harsh terms, but exactly fit the case. That Parliament has not yet, of its own accord, done a single good thing. Hence I have compared it to a sterile women. The natural condition of that Parliament is such that, without outside pressure, it can do nothing. It is like a prostitute because it is under the control of ministers who change from time to time."

This is not a speech from the C.P.M. members or from Charu Mazumdar. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am quoting from Mahatma Gandhi who said samething in 1920. Not only did he say that but he further goes on to say something which is even more devastating.

He says:—

> "Members vote for their party without a thought. Their so called discipline binds them to it. If any member, by way of exception, gives an independent vote, he is considered a renegade."

This is the situation, according to Gandhiji. Then he says:—

> "Yes. I do not know what I am. It is for you to judge." Further he says:

> "You cannot accept my views at once is only right. If you will read the literature on this subject, you will have some real idea of it. Parliament is without a real master. Under the Prime Minister, its movement is not steady but it is buffeted about like a prostitute. The Prime Minister is more concerned about his power than about the welfare of Parliament. His energy is concentrated upon securing the success of his party. His care is not always that Parliament shall do right. Prime Ministers are known to have made Parliament do things merely for party advantage. All this is worth thinking over."

Then a question was asked:

> "Then you are really attacking the very men whom we have hitherto considered to be patriotic and honest?"

The reply was:

> "Yes, that is true; I can have nothing against Prime Ministers, but what I have seen leads me to think that they cannot be considered really patriotic. If they are to be considered honest because they do not take what are generally known as bribes, let them be so considered but they are open to subtler influences. In order to gain their ends they certainly bribe people with honours. I do not hesitate to say that they have neither real honesty nor a living conscience."

This is what Gandhiji said 50 years back. Today the situation is developing in this country and I would like men like Mr. Tyagi to re-read the literature on Gandhiji. If by our action, by our behaviour we let the younger generation to feel that this Parliament is nothing but a sterile woman and a prostitute, what do you expect from them? Is the destiny of this country going to be determined by 500 people sitting in the Central Hall or the Houses of Parliament? This country does not belong to any Prime Minister or Members of Parliament. This country belongs to 520 million people of this country and if we are not ready to deliver the goods, if we are not capable of delivering the goods, if we are not rendering justice to the people, it is the inherent right of the people to revolt against the present system and I see nothing wrong if the people rise in revolt, if the people go and occupy the lands which have been occupied for centuries altogether on the basis of exploitation, on the basis of degradation of the common man. In this I see a ray of hope, not because they are resorting to violent methods but a ray of hope because they are asserting themselves. They are giving a warning to this parliamentary institution, to the people who are at the helm of affairs. I am not agitated. I say in anguish that instead of getting lessons from those trends, there are friends who say that we should curb everything from beginning to end. The soul of man has never been demolished or curbed or shattered by the greatest of dictators or despotic rulers. The men of tyranny came but the conscience of man ever remained and revolted against all forms of suppression and tyranny. I would warn Members, specially men like Mr. Tyagi: You are expected to herald a new era. You are expected to be the harbinger of a new India. You should not prove yourself to be an agent of the *status quo* and vested interests. If this Parliament wants to be a harbinger of new India, let us see that in this parliamentary institution we render justice to the people and just do not indulge in criticism of what is happening by saying that these people are asserting themselves.

With these words, I say that what is happening is alarming, what is happening is unpleasant and none can be happy over it but perhaps it is the outcome of the inherent discipline of social forces and the social forces are asserting themselves. Mr. Tyagi, if you are not ready to solve the problem, these forces will overwhelm us and they will solve them in their own way.

EMERGENCY IN INDIA*

As hon'ble Bhupesh Guptaji has said that if emergency has been imposed in any part of the country then, it is for the whole country and not for any particular part of it..... When the hon'ble Minister of Home had given assurance in March that the said Emergency would be revoked by 1 July, then, you know what was the reason behind that assurance. Actually, all of the Opposition and we also thought that the situation in the country would become normal as it may not be a matter of pride and happiness that one should allow this situation to continue in the country. If such a situation continues to prevail in any part of the country, then, our armymen and policemen have to fight with our own people or people from across the border.....Government of India have always been wanting to promote human values. We do not want people to fight with one another. But if the situation demands that we should defend the frontiers of our country then no Government can run away from its responsibility. Therefore, I believe that this emergency is affecting the whole country but we gave an assurance that Government would not misuse emergency powers. We would use them only in difficult circumstances. I would like to ask my friends from the opposition party whether the Government has misused any of the emergency powers in the country?..... I would like to say that the Government has given fundamental rights to those persons also, who propagate false good and want to ruin all Parliamentary traditions and systems..... The framers of our Constitution have also desired that if at all, the emergency is imposed then it should be in the entire country and not only in some parts of the country. You said that it should be imposed only in particular parts— we have no objection if you are not ready for the same but, on our part, it is impossible for us not to discharge our duties in the Government. We can not go merely by saying. We have to act also. Hon'ble Chauradiaji have asked-what the Government is doing? Why should not we be competent enough to check the spying activities of China and Pakistan? Just now, their leader hon'ble Sunder Singh Bhandari has said that our borders are under constant threat from across the border, I am just quoting him. Their leader hon'ble Vimal Kumar Chauradia said that there is no threat.

I just want to say that such incidents which are taking place in Naxalbari, Mizo hills, or in Nagaland, are not to be ignored. China and Pakistan are—

* Participating in the "Short duration discussion"; Rajya Sabha Debate, 23 June 1967, *cc.* 5812-16, (Originally in Hindi)

taking much interest in these areas. Today, the Peking Radio has announced and it has been published in newspapers also that the Naxalbari incidents have charged the people of the country and given them renewed vigour. Hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta is giving example of parliamentary traditions. He is asking, in which country do we live? Had parliamentary democracy not been there. But, it is parliamentary democracy and the constitution of India has given you some rights and under those very constitutional rights, this emergency is in operation which will remain there until anti-national thinking ends.

NATIONAL INTEGRITY AND DISRUPTIVE ELEMENTS*

Hon'ble Vice Chairman Sir, there are very mixed feelings in the present scenario in the country. On one hand, there are dark clouds of disappointment and on the other, there is a silver lining in it for a bright future. It is correct that the address by our hon'ble President is an indication of it.

Some hon'ble friends of mine, both from the opposition and the treasury benches, have said that the country is facing foreign aggression. It is correct that though a large part of our land is under foreign occupation, still our soldiers posted at 14-16 thousand feet height are a ray of hope in this dark scenario. Though there are disruptive forces in the country there has always been a binding force right from the ancient times to the present due to which the country has remained united, I see a similar picture in the House where we have adopted parliamentary democracy in which every person has the freedom to express his views in a free and fair way. At the same time, we witness that many of our colleagues not only express their views but also distort the facts. The biggest example of it would be Shri Annadurai#, the leader of Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam who spoke prior to me. When Shri Annadurai had started delivering his speech, hon'ble Ram Chandranji had raised a question and rightly so. He asked, 'Do you believe in National Integrity and do you think that the integrity of a Nation like India should remain intact?' In reply, Shri Annadurai Saheb had said that after the Chinese aggression, his philosophy had changed and he believes in the National Integrity.

But, Sir, through you, I would like to draw the attention of hon'ble Annaduraiji, towards his speech delivered on Official Language Bill in 1963. Expressing his views on the Bill, he said that India is not a country and it is improper to term it a country. Today, he repeated the same. Not only this, Sir, I would like to quote the statement given to a correspondent of a newspaper in Madras three days ago by the President of his party and the Leader of Opposition in Madras Assembly. I do not want to quote the speech of Shri C.N. Annadurai# due to shortage of time. If he wishes, he can have a copy of that speech. When the reporters asked the Leader of Opposition in Madras Assembly and his party President: "Will you carry on the agitation to the extent of secession?"

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* Participating in the discussion on "Motion of Thanks on the President's Address"; Rajya Sabha Debate, 4 March 1965, *cc.* 2003-14

Shri C.N. Annadurai, M.P.

What did he say? The reply was "No, we cannot secede. That fundamental right has been taken away from us by law since the Chinese aggression. That is why the DMK had to end its agitation for a separate *Dravidasthan* but we will agitate peacefully". This is the statement given by the President of his party and I am sorry to say that not only the people from the opposition party but the people from the treasury benches as well as our veteran leaders like Hon'ble Akbar Ali Khan Saheb appreciate such speeches.

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I was just pointing out what is being said. You are a veteran leader and have vast experience in politics. The very basis of the policy of Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam Party is that India is not a country and the people of Dravida land do not belong to this country and their programme is based on this policy.

I would like to draw your attention to one more thing. Hon'ble Annadurai Saheb has just said that he opposed violence and would like to say that the violent tendencies should be curbed. But when an agitation was going on in Madras, Tamil Nadu, he made a statement before the students to remain calm. What was that statement? He said that the students from Tamil Nadu should be proud of the fact that they undid the work that had been completed earlier. If this does not amount to instigating violence, arson, looting etc. then how is violence, arson, looting instigated? I would like to say these things in the beginning even though there are some good things in Indian politics, in parliamentary democracy, but at the same time we should also see its dark side. It has been mentioned several times that Shri Lal Bahadurji should be large hearted and should try to win the hearts of the people. I would come to it later. I said this in the beginning so that you can see how things have been said.

My friend, Shri Bhupesh Guptaji had criticized the arrest of communist party workers by saying that Hon'ble Nandaji* committed a big sin by doing this. He commented on the article placed before the house and asked whether I had any proof regarding this. Though I have no other proof — I am sorry to say that hon'ble Bhupesh Guptaji is not here right now — but I have a newspaper 'New Age' which belongs to his party. A report related to his party has been published in the newspaper in Bombay in which it has been said that a section of the Communist Party has been opposing the policy right from the Chinese aggression that we should support the Government to safeguard the Nation. Not only this, displeasure has also been expressed at one place over the fact that when our policy should have given due attention to the Chinese, the Government was sitting idle and

* Referring to Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda, M.P.

wanted to encourage those who wanted to divide the Communist Party. This is an authentic statement of Shri Bhupesh Gupta's party and still he is asking for proof from Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda. I do not know whether he has got any proof or not. Whether the proof — a report related to his party published in 'New Age' Newspaper — is insufficient? And if the same is insufficient, I would like to give another proof. Few days back, I can't tell the exact date, the leader of the Communist Party, Shri E.M.S. Namboodripad said in an election meeting in Kerala that "it is true that our partymen had put up a photo of Mao-Tse-Tung". He also said that there is a section within the party which is creating problems for us and favouring China. It is a statement of the leader of Communist Party that it is a small section of the party for which the whole party should not be blamed. I would like to ask my hon'ble friend if under any Government or regime it is ever said on one side that country should be divided and all its law books be burnt while on the other side the invaders be termed as the harbingers of socialism, how can such things be tolerated? I am sorry to say that such things are being hidden by the Government. Shri Bhupesh Guptaji felt happy when hon'ble Atal Bihari Vajpayeeji asked the names of such persons from hon'ble Dahyabhai Patel who had their accounts with Bank of India and whether the Communist Party receives money from Bank of China? At that time, hon'ble Minister of Finance had concealed the facts. If the facts had not been concealed and the Communist Party followers had not been encouraged in the country, then hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta would not have got a chance to rise to say that hon'ble Nandaji* did a wrong thing.

I will give you one more example. When the Official Language Bill was introduced in 1963, what did hon'ble Bhupesh Guptaji say? He said that people like Hon'ble Annaduraiji and hon'ble Rajgopalachari were agents of British imperialism and he said that — I have with me the speech of hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta — that I am ashamed of not having learnt Hindi. But today Shri Annadurai and Shri Bhupesh Gupta have joined hands to defame hon'ble Gulzari Lal Nanda and insult him in the eyes of others. In such a situation we all have to think as to what should be done. I would also like to say that before appealing to Shri Nandaji, Shri Bhupesh Guptaji should have appealed to Dange Saheb** to stop giving such statements about the Communist Party which have been published in the newspapers.

Sir, I have to say something about language also. I will take some more time with your permission. Hon'ble Mukut Bihari Lalji, the leader of Praja Socialist Party and also my mentor — I am sorry that right now he is not here — has said that the Fourth Five Year Plan is more reactionist than the Third Five Year Plan. I am amused at his speech. Being a scholar of Political Science he said that the word 'Socialism' appeared in the Fourth Five Year

* Referring to Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda, M.P.
** Referring to Shri Shripad Amrit Dange, M.P.

Plan one or two times. Whether it has appeared one or two times but I am surprised to note whether the word 'Socialism' should find place in every sentence of a document which describes economic aspects. He said that no progress has taken place in the field of education. I do not have time, so I will concentrate on language only. All things are not included in the memorandum, it is only an indication of the direction in which our society will go in the coming five years. If Professor Mukut Bihari Lal had looked into the draft prepared by the Planning Commission regarding education which I have brought in the house — he would have come to know how the Planning Commission is taking the Nation ahead?

Sir, I would like to say through you that I have an article of Mahatma Gandhi. Once Mahatma Gandhi said to Annie Besant that I am sorry to say that though I do not differ with you in most of the matters but so far as the matter of language is concerned I cannot compromise. I have a copy of the article of Mahatma Gandhi published in 'Young India' in this regard.

Another great personality, poet Shri Rabindranath Tagore raised the question that you should give some importance to English language. Sir, with your permission I would like to quote some sentences from the reply given by Mahatma Gandhi to Shri Rabindranath Tagore:

> "The canker has eaten so much into the society that in many cases, the only meaning of education is a knowledge of English. All these are for me signs of our slavery and degradation."

This statement of Mahatma Gandhi was made in 1921. After that Mahatma Gandhi uttered this many a time. The most important thing he said was that he would not tolerate it if he had power to do so. Today, I am surprised that we are asked to observe restraint in the name of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I would like to quote one sentence from Mahatma Gandhi:

> "If I had the powers of a despot, I would today stop the tuition of our boys and girls through a foreign medium, and require all the teachers and professors on pain of dismissal to introduce the change forthwith. I would not wait for the preparation of textbooks. They will follow the change. It is an evil that needs a summary remedy."

I would like to know from you about these thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi whether a policy of more restraint than this.....

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*I know everything. I know old history. In the end, I would like to say that it is a question of a principle and not of an alien rule, foreign rule.

* In reply to Shri Bhupesh Gupta's comments, "May I intervene? When Mahatma Gandhi said this thing, the country was not free. The Government was in the hands of an alien power. He was saying what should be done in the school and colleges. Those were the days when we were starting national institutions, schools. Rabindra Nath you have quoted. He also said it in the same context."

I would like to put his views, who in his view is a great thinker, for the information of Hon'ble Loknath Mishra. His views are as follows:

> "Can the deliberations of the Central Assembly and the transactions of the high officers of State and other exercising authority in the Central Government be permitted to be done in English? Obviously not, if we desire democracy to be true in fact as well as in form—if we do not want educated men to be appointed to places of power and influence and conduct their affairs apart from the people and the electorate. To make popular control real, the State language must be one spoken and understood by large masses of people....
>
> Hindi is bound to be the language of the Central Government and the Legislature and also of the provincial Governments in their dealings with each other and with the Government of India."

You can think that the statement I am quoting, was made by Hon'ble Rajgopalachari in the year 1928. Do you think.....

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In the end, I would like to say this for the kind information of Shri Bhupesh Gupta that in the days of independence, not in the days of slavery, Shri C.N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Shri Frank Anthony, Shriman Chettiyar, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said that the English can no longer be tolerated now and we are giving them fifteen years so that the people can be educated in the meantime. I am surprised that in spite of all these things, this question is raised today and said that the Government should solve it with patience.

In the end, I would conclude my speech by quoting the statement of a great Democrat statesman*. He had said while addressing his people.

> "It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets; and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal, except to ballots themselves, at succeeding elections. Such will be a great lesson of peace; teaching men that what they cannot take by an election neither can they take by a war; teaching all the folly of being the beginners of a war."

I would humbly like to say to all of them whether they are looking towards China or towards making a new Pakistan that it had been said by the world's most wise man Mr. Abraham Lincoln, who was compelled to give this statement at that time when some people from America had tried to divide America.

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* Mr. Abraham Lincoln's message to Congress on 4 July 1861.

In the end, I would like to appeal to the Government through you that it is not a question of passion or anger but it is a question of saving the nationality and unity of the Nation and I feel that the Government should not bow to these aspects. I also feel that the problem of the people should be understood but it does not mean that some people like Shri Annadurai* and Shri Rajaji@ should be left free to destroy the Nation and allow them to do everything to break the country. In the end, I would like to say....

I would like to submit to hon'ble Annadurai Saheb to accept the advice of Shri Chalapathi Rao, the editor of the 'National Herald' in which he has said that people like Shri Annadurai Saheb and Shri Rajaji can create chaos and havoc but cannot pacify it.

Thank you.

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* Shri C. Annadurai, M.P.
@ Shri C. Rajagopalachari.

ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ISSUES

ROLE OF FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS*

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I congratulate Shri Arjun Arora for bringing this subject for discussion today. Before I go into the subject, I think it is necesssary to reply to the remarks made by the previous speaker about the ideological consideration. It is true that the fight or conflict or struggle is ideological. It will be wrong to deny the fact that in economic life whatever is happening is not ideological and this struggle is something which is away from ideology. He has been pleading all along that the LIC and all these financial institutions should take note of the first criterion and this criterion that perhaps he has in his mind is that the deposits are safe and the persons to whom they are given are credit worthy or trust-worthy or whatever adjective he may choose to give. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not know whether the LIC or the Finance Ministry or the Government of India as such have ever cared to scrutinise what Wealth Tax these people have paid during the last 10 years, what Income-tax have been paid by these groups, which have been getting all these facilities from these financial institutions. What wealth they have created and what tax they have paid on that to the Government is not known to the Nation and at least it has not been made known by anybody else. Anyhow, Mr. Vice-Chairman, may I be permitted to emphasize one point, which was emphasized by the mover of the Resolution, and it is that we are functioning in this Parliament not to safeguard the interests of certain depositors alone, not to safeguard the interests of certain investors alone but we are here to safeguard the interests of the Nation as a whole. We also must be quite clear that this Parliament and the whole set-up of parliamentary democracy is to see and safeguard the interests of those coming millions who have no other voice but the voice of their representatives in this August House.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I think it will not be out of place to quote Mahatma Gandhi when he went to attend the Round Table Conference in London in 1931. Some people and some great Gandhians—even from our side also—always give lessons "Do not take to agitations, struggles and conflicts. Everything should be done in a peaceful way, in a very orderly way, without any struggle, without any conflict." But, Mr. Vice-Chairman, all those Gandhians and all those who plead the interests of the depositors, I want to remind them of what Mahatma Gandhi had said. He had said: "Conflict

* Participating in the discussion on Revision of Investment Policy of LIC and other Institutions of Government; Rajya Sabha Debate, 31 August 1968, *cc.* 5493-5504.

of interests is there, and if there is a conflict of interests I shall have no hesitation to side with the teeming millions of India." The question is whether this particular investment policy has been doing favour to those principles which are enshrined in the Constitution of India, Constitution which is the embodiment of the aspirations of all the martyrs and all the freedom fighters who fought for the freedom of this country.

Vice-Chairman, Sir, with this introductory remark I shall again remind you and the hon. House that only a few days back, when we were talking about social control of banking institutions, I gave certain figures. Now again let us consider these financial institutions in the same light, what has been the development of the financial institutions and how the monopoly concentration has corresponded with the development of these financial institutions. With your permission, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I shall like to give some figures. On the 31st of March 1957, the number of companies was 8,771 with a paid-up capital of 695.7 crore of rupees. On the 31st of March, 1967, the number of companies reduced to 6,309 but the paid up capital went up to 1401.8 crore of rupees. And what does this fact indicate? This fact indicates that the number of companies has gone down while the paid-up capital has doubled itself. Mr. Vice-Chairman, if the number of companies has gone down from 8771 to 6309 and the paid-up capital has gone up from about ₹ 700 crore to more than 1400 crore does it not indicate that there has been concentration of economic power in a few hands? If there is any other figure and if there is any other conclusion, I shall invite my friends to indicate that figure and that conclusion.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I shall try to emphasise another point. What has been the result of this tendency. Is it only my view? I have got the Report of the Working Group of the Company Law Administration. And what is their observation? These were not only communists or socialists or other people holding other ideologies but even businessmen like Mr. M.V. Venkataram and Mr. H.P. Nanda have signed this report. And what has been their conclusion? What have they said? I quote:

> "The remarkable growth in the public limited corporate sector during the last few years has been substantially led by the financial institutions, such as the Life Insurance Corporation, Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India, Industrial Financial Corporation, I.D.B.I., U.T.I etc."

These financial corporations are responsible for the growth of these few companies whose names and whose creditworthiness I shall quote later on, are responsible for the growth of this tendency.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, there is another peculiar feature that these financial institutions were constituted by the Government for the industrial growth of this country. But these financial institutions were directed not to favour the Public Sector Undertakings. These financial institutions were constituted

solely to help those people who were dominating the economic life of our country. Mr. Vice-Chairman, if I just give the figures now, they will by themselves indicate what has been the role of these financial institutions. If I leave it at that without dilating on it, it is because my time is very short. Our public undertakings, even for defence purposes, have not received any consideration or accommodation from these financial institutions. Time and again we have seen that essential industrial undertakings could not be started only because of paucity of funds. On the other hand, for chewing gums, for—as my friend, Mr. Mohan Dharia, time and again reminds this House—lipstick and cosmetics, these financial institutions have been generously giving credit to those industralists.

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That is also not true. What amount has been given by the L.I.C. by the I.C.I.C.I. and others during the last few figures, to show that, with your permission, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I shall give some figures.

(Amount in lakhs of rupees)

					1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68
LIC	*	*	*	*	119.4	167.5	360.0	390.0	319.5	432.3
ICICI	*	*	*	*	32.5	157.5	281.0	218.0	211.1	237.0
IFC	*	*	*	*	50.4	238.0	300.0	285.0	164.5	75.5
IDBI	*	*	*	*	**	**	106.0	577.0	408.7	61.5
UTI	*	*	*	*	**	**	29.8	45.0	85.7	185.0
State Governments	*	*	*	*	**	48.4	57.0	26.0	**	10.0
State Finance Corporation	*	*	*	*	22.5	220.5	396.0	412.0	191.8	140.3
Other Institutions	*	*	*	*	581.0	952.9	864.5	689.0	439.8	925.9

This is investment in equity shares. From ₹ 805.8 lakhs in 1962-63 it has risen to ₹ 2067.5 lakhs in 1967-68. Now if you take the debentures those figures are also indicative of something very peculiar. The LIC's share for the various years is as follows:

(₹ in lakhs)

1962-63	*	*	*	*	850.0
1963-64	*	*	*	*	313.0
1964-65	*	*	*	*	625.0
1965-66	*	*	*	*	175.0
1966-67	*	*	*	*	343.0
1967-68	*	*	*	*	415.0

Now I shall not go into the details of figures in respect of other institutions. I should like to ask here: who have been the beneficiaries of consideration on the part of these financial institutions? The LIC has been directed by the Government of India and the Finance Ministry that they should always vote in favour of established controllers of companies. The LIC gives this money. The money is that of depositors but those depositors are not represented in its Board of Directors. My friend, Mr. Mohta, was very much worried about the depositors' interests but when my friend, Mr. Arjun Arora, says that the LIC should have their representatives then Mr. Mohta's contention is that if there is no homogeneous team in the Board of Directors the company will not work. Homogeneous team of whom? Homogeneous team of certain people who are controlling the economy of this country. Mr. Vice-Chairman, without going into details I would bring to your notice that if you take the investment structure of 414 companies with share capital of over ₹ 50 lakhs each, you will find that 23 to 24 per cent of their capital is invested by the financial institutions. That is only if you take the investment; if you take into account the loans, underwritings and other considerations, the figure will go much higher.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, again, with your permission, I would like to quote from the 'Report of the Working Group of the Administrative Reforms Commission:'

> "Since a large part of the capital underwritten by these institutions has been subscribed by them, these financial institutions have in the process also become important shareholders in public limited companies and constitute the backbone of the committed shareholders."

Now it has been the tragic consequence of our wrong policy that we have been giving all facilities to a certain group of industrialists but we have no say in the management of those companies. I am sorry my friend. Shri Jagannath Pahadia, the Deputy Minister of Finance is sitting here; perhaps he knows little about the investments of LIC.

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But where is the Finance Minister and the Minister of State for Finance who said something the other day about the State Bank giving out the figures. Now I shall give those figures which the Finance Ministry has been denying to this House. These will show what consideration these people have got from the LIC. These are the figures:

(₹ in lakhs)

Kesoram Cotton Mills (A Birla concern)

L.I.C. Shares	*	*	*	75
L.I.C. Debentures	*	*	*	115
U.T.I. Shares	*	*	*	25
I.C.I.C.I. Loans	*	*	*	85

Modi Spinning Weaving (Modi concern)

L.I.C. Shares	*	*	*	55
U.T.I.	*	*	*	10
I.F.C.	*	*	*	240

Bharat Commerce and Industries (Again a Birla concern)

L.I.C. Shares	*	*	*	40
U.T.I. Shares	*	*	*	4
I.D.B.I. Loans	*	*	*	100

Gwalior Rayon & Silk (Again Birla concern)

L.I.C.	*	*	*	120
U.T.I.	*	*	*	10
I.C.I.C.I.	*	*	*	40

Mahindra & Mahindra (Another big business)

L.I.C.	*	*	*	70
U.T.I.	*	*	*	20
I.C.I.C.I. Shares	*	*	*	23
I.C.I.C.I. Loans	*	*	*	100

Bangalore Woollen & Cottons

Paid-up Capital	*	*	*	250
L.I.C.	*	*	*	50

Indian Iron & Steel (Mentioned by Mr. Arjun Arora)

Paid-up capital	*	*	*	2,758
L.I.C. Shares	*	*	*	700
U.T.I.	*	*	*	45
I.D.B.I. Loans	*	*	*	500

This is just an indication of how these few big business houses are getting consideration from these financial institutions of Government. Again see these figures.

(₹ in lakhs)

Hindustan Motors (Again a Birla concern)

L.I.C.	*	*	*	130
U.T.I.	*	*	*	30

Jay Engineering (This is a Bharat Ram and Charat Ram concern) I mentioned this other day.

L.I.C.	*	*	*	73
U.T.I.	*	*	*	13
I.C.I.C.I. Loans	*	*	*	55
I.F.C.	*	*	*	75

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Again two more Birla concerns are here:

(₹ in lakhs)

Orient Paper Mills

L.I.C.	*	*	*	110
U.T.I.	*	*	*	2
I.F.C. Loans	*	*	*	50

Century Spinning

L.I.C.	*	*	*	50
U.T.I.	*	*	*	5
I.F.C.	*	*	*	200

Mr. Vice-Chairman, how does this happen that if you take the State Bank loans these very gentlemen figure in that list also? If you take the financial institutions the same Birla is there; the same Sahu Jain, the same Mahindra, the same Mafatlal; all these people are getting consideration from everywhere. Not only that, this Government has been favouring this very group of persons in giving loans from the Cooley Funds. I would like to give here.....

Now, the Hindustan Aluminium of the Birlas has got ₹ 200 lakhs from the Cooley funds; Renusagar Power (again Birlas) has got ₹ 450 lakhs, Mysore Cement (Birla) ₹ 138.0 lakhs; York India Ltd. (Birla again) ₹ 15 lakhs; Graphite India Ltd. ₹ 69 lakhs; East India Hotels ₹ 76.2 lakhs; Synthetics & Chemicals (Kailachand) ₹ 650 lakhs; and Goodyear Tyre ₹ 225 lakhs.

Ten loans are pending before the American Government relating to the Cooley loans and another two companies. Hindustan Aluminium and Taylor Instruments; which account for more than 60 per cent of the total, are pending with the American Government for Cooley loans. These companies belong to the Birlas.

In the end, the most startling and most agonising factor is that it is not only that these loans are given and these favours are being shown, but even in banking institutions these financial institutions are subscribing to a great extent. Again, with your permission, because I am in a hurry and I have no time.....

I give you some figures. The Bank of Baroda has nearly 40 per cent of its shares held by LIC, UTI, Government and other institutions. The United Commercial Bank has nearly 25 per cent of the shares with the Government and semi-Government institutions. In the case of the Punjab National Bank, it is nearly 20 per cent of shares from the Government financial institutions. Again, the Bank of India has nearly 30 per cent of its shares from the Government financial institutions. In the case of the Central Bank it is again nearly 25 per cent and for Dena Bank it is 20.5 per cent.

I shall wind up with this observation. Time is limited and I can understand your difficulty, but you should understand the difficulties of this country, the difficulties that are being faced by this Nation, the difficulties that are being faced by the cottage industry people, the difficulties that are being faced by the small farmers.....

These deposits come from the poor people and these deposits are made available to some business tycoons. When we want to know certain facts about these, the Finance Ministry, again and again, comes and says that it is not in the public interest to divulge these facts. Is it in the public interest that the Birlas, the Dalmias and the Singhanias should be protected by this Government, the Government which claims to have the heritage of Mahatma Gandhi? Is it the contention of Mr. Morarji Desai that they are serving this country by protecting the business tycoons and by concealing these figures?

Let them deny that these figures are wrong. In the end, I say it is for you and it is for this House to consider if these figures are correct and if these figures are concealed by the Government, there is some conspiracy at the top level and this conspiracy should be exposed in the interests of the Nation, in the interests of the teeming millions, for whom Bapu fought and won freedom for the country.

THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN : AN EVALUATION*

Madam, Deputy Chairperson, in a backward country and especially in a country like India, where the people enjoy political rights, it is very difficult to implement a plan for economic development. After independence it is natural for people to have high aspirations and they feel that everything should be done for their wellbeing and prosperity. It has been said in the beginning of the introduction to the Third Five Year Plan that the sole purpose of this Plan is to ensure that the people of the country may move towards progress and prosperity gradually. But in such a big country, where nothing has been done during hundreds of years of slavery for the overall and economic development of the country, when such a responsibility falls on our shoulders all of a sudden and that too, when all the people enjoy civil rights, political rights, then every step should be taken in a balanced manner. One wrong step on our part could bring in terrible consequences. Through you, I would like to request the Government that I feel and agree that there may be various difficulties on the path to economic development which should be considered by the ruling party as well as the opposition parties, but on the other hand, if errors and mistakes are committed by the Government, then they should be corrected by the Government itself.

Now-a-days, there are two types of elements working in our country. Some people are trying to cause the failure of the whole Plan taking advantage of the difficulties coming in the way of economic planning and some people are emphasising that planned economic system has proved meaningless. Therefore, it has no place in today's society. On the other hand, the people in power are not prepared to accept and rectify their mistakes. There may be different intentions, but the result would be the same. Hon'ble Baliram Bhagat might be sincerely desirous of economic development of the country, but the result of the work done by his Government is that people are losing faith in the Plans implemented by the Government. Our hon'ble friend, Shri Loknath Mishraji may be having different views, but his views has the same meaning that the people of the country lose faith in the economic planning of the country.

What will we have to do to bring prosperity in the country. It is true that the basic demand of people is that they should get food and that is

* Participating in the discussion on "Mid-term Appraisal of Third Five Year Plan"; Rajya Sabha Debate, 26 February 1964, *cc.* 2253-65, (Originally in Hindi)

not possible as long as the production of foodgrains is not increased in the country. The Government may provide food to the people for several years with the help of foreign countries, but it would not be possible to provide food for the growing population of the country until the production of the foodgrain is increased in our country blessed with fertile land. What will we have to do to produce more foodgrains? There is no other way to increase the production of foodgrains. Whether Pandit Jawaharlal Nehruji delivers speech or we deliver a speech, but these speeches are not going to result in increased production of foodgrains. There is only one way to produce the things that are required to meet the needs of mankind. Nature has given us some things and man puts his efforts and then the things of our requirement come into being. Grain is grown when a farmer works hard in the fields. Not from today, but for the last 17-18 years, our party has been saying that land should be given to those who can work hard on it. After Independence, we asked for the land to be given to the agricultural labourers, and to those who can do farming there, but what is the situation even after 17 years? Even today it is mentioned in Mid-term Appraisal that land reforms should be introduced. Those who are physically strong, do not have land and on the other hand, those who have land, farms running into thousands of acres, are not physically strong and do not have any planning to produce foodgrains. It is disproportionate. This responsibility should be taken by the Government. It had been said three to four years back that there should be land reforms. All the State Governments were asked to execute land reforms. Planning Commission and Central Government give these directions but what happened? Land reforms were not made anywhere on these lines. Land consolidation was not undertaken in such a manner so that land may go to the hands of agricultural labourers. The Government kept publicizing for four years that land would be consolidated and when all the land is usurped wrongly with legal tricks by people, then it is said that land consolidation work is being done, which is only an eyewash. I would like to tell the Government that if it is interested in production of more foodgrains and if India is to be made self-sufficient in the field of foodgrains, the first and foremost work is that all laws related to the land reforms should be implemented in true spirit in a way so that the land is given to those who can produce foodgrains. The Government has failed in ensuring this. Planning Commission might also have such plans, but I am sad to say that the Planning Commission has been a failure in this respect and Union Government could not persuade the State Governments. One of my friends said that some work should be undertaken for which the Government and Planning Commission should make a promise. I would like to say that if you visualise a Socialist society in true sense — leave aside Socialist society — if economic system of India is to be run and improved, then the first task is of land reforms.

Secondly, it was said while preparing Third Five Year Plan that something should be done for the supervision of all public sector industries and all the industries run by the State. These industries should be controlled in such a manner that they can be managed properly. But even after three years, it has not been done. It was discussed here during the last five-six months that a Parliamentary Committee should be constituted to supervise these Public Sector Undertakings. It had been said at that time that a committee would be constituted soon but it could not be constituted. I do not know what it means. Why it can not be constituted? Planning Commission and our ministers should think as to what impression do they want to create in the minds of people about the role of public undertakings in our democracy. Do you want to force the people to accept the views of Shri Loknath Mishra and Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee that this nationalization is unjust and all industries should go in the hands of capitalists? I am sorry to say that our Planning Commission could not make the Government take right steps.

As hon'ble Arjun Arora just pointed out, I wonder, what will be the consequence if there is strife, antagonism between the industrialists and workers, if they tell that they are being subjected to tyranny and justice is not given to them. I am surprised when a spokesperson of Congress Party comes from Bhubaneshwar with the concept of socialism one month back and proposes an outline of a new socialism in Parliament. I am referring to hon'ble K.K. Shah. He said that if the labourers are given share in the profit, they would gradually be in a position to gain control over the industry and there would be no need for nationalization. I would like to say very humbly that socialism is not such a system or concept which may be established in the country gradually in a calculated manner. Socialism is a new system, a new way of life for which fundamental changes will have to be made in the social fabric.

Prof. Wadia* said that people should get inspiration for development. Earlier too, I have asked as to who should get inspiration? Whether inspiration should be given to some capitalists for whom Prof. Wadia and our friend Hon'ble Mishra** are worried? Crores of people of the country who are starving should get the inspiration. The day when they start understanding and they have clear concept about it, it will have its impact on the whole democracy. I do not say this emotionally. I say so because so long as the poor people of the country do not understand that something is being done to fulfill their aspirations and hopes, it is not possible to make this Plan a success democratically in a democratic era.

Madam***, today when I heard the speech of hon'ble Health Minister during Question Hour, I was taken aback and perhaps never before have I been so surprised that Dr. Sushila Nair, an ardent follower of

* Referring to Prof. A.R. Wadia, M.P.
** Referring to Shri Lok Nath Mishra, M.P.
*** Referring to Shri, Violet Alva, Dy. Chairperson, Rajya Sabha.

Mahatma Gandhi, says that this Government can not say that people died of exposure to cold or dysentery. I said that the mind of man does not work according to science only. I would like to remind my friends from Congress and especially Dr. Sushila Nair of the views of Mahatma Gandhi. He had said that politics is practised by mind and heart both. He who practises politics by heart follows the wrong path and he who practices politics by mind, can not work for human welfare. The Government should feel ashamed if such a question arises as to whether people died of exposure to cold and it should admit its mistake. There could be nothing more undemocratic than this if a news item is published in the newspaper in a democratic country and the Minister says that he/she has not conducted an inquiry. I would like to say that we will have to evoke a new feeling, zeal and a new inspiration in our minds and hearts towards the poor. Until this is done, no measure can help develop the country democratically.

Secondly, I would like to say that it has been mentioned in the report that we can implement social welfare measures properly. Only seventeen per cent of the total funds allocated for the education of people belonging to Backward Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been spent during the last three years. Everyday questions are asked in the Parliament and to which the usual reply from the ministers is that the State Governments are not doing their job. Who is responsible if State Governments are not doing their jobs? Congress which is in power, can not escape by saying so. When a Chief Minister can be replaced by the other, can Congress Party, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru not exercise his power against the Government which can not spend funds allotted for social services. The Chief Minister and the Cabinet of that State has no right to stay in power. I am telling you about my State of Uttar Pradesh where the condition is very bad. This State tops in diseases and is most backward in education. It is ranked 3rd or 5th in the country in terms of economic development, but now it is lagging more behind. Disputes are arising there everyday. Why does it all happen? Congress Party has failed to solve it. Some days back when the report on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was being discussed, one of our Harijan brothers raised an issue that even today ladies carry human excreta on their heads. On this, some of our friends from Congress said that he was creating a feeling of disbelief and hatred. I would like to know from hon'ble Planning Minister* whether after seventeen years of Independence, in this era of Planning, women and men in India are carrying human excreta on their heads? If this is our view about Planning, then I would like to say that democracy will no longer survive, whatever you may do to uphold it. Education as well as ensuring cultural development is an essential part of social service. Whether Planning Commission and Planning Minister* can assure the House that within one year, such an arrangement would be made

* Referring to Shri Bali Ram Bhagat, Planning Minister.

that every Municipality and every Corporation would be funded to the extent that no man or woman will have to do scavenging work to earn a livelihood.

I would like to say something on another issue alongwith these issues which have been much debated because I am short of time. A discussion has been going on for the last two or three days regarding Planning Commission. I do not understand as to why our friends were worried about the concerns of Praja Socialist Party and particularly two spokespersons from Communist Party, Hon'ble Basavpunniya Saheb and Bhupesh Guptaji were very much worried. I feel that we have no complaints if any Opposition Party or any political party points out somebody's mistakes, but if somebody from Opposition Party presents the statements made by someone in a twisted way, I fail to understand the intentions behind it. I would like to mention about hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta who is present here. He is in disagreement that despite being Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission, Shri Ashok Mehta said that foreign capital should flow into the country and inspiration should be given for its proper utilization. He is highly opposed to it. Perhaps foreign capitalists may be dominant here. I do not know whether Shri Bhupesh Gupta is a greater socialist than Mr. Lenin*. I would like to know from hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta whether Soviet Union and its great leader Lenin had not sought help from other countries when economic development had started in the Soviet Union? If seeking that help was proper for the Soviet Union and if that help was a part of revolutionary tradition, I can't understand as to why that tradition can not be followed in India. Shri Ashok Mehta had not even said that the capital can only be brought from America and Britain, but his intention was that capital from East European countries and even from Russia can be invested in our country. It is still being invested and will be invested in future. It is not true that capital from Communist countries is being invested in our country for economic development? However, the problem is that if the Communist countries can not give capital, then it is not necessary to abandon the efforts for economic development altogether.

Secondly, Shri Ashok Mehta also supported taxes. In this connection, Shri Ashok Mehta has said that the profit should be at least 10 per cent. If he had read Shri Bhupesh Gupta's statement carefully, he would have come to know that he had said that whereas this profit target should be achieved in private industries, the public sector industries should also strive for the same. I would like to draw the attention of hon'ble Bhupesh Guptaji to the statement made by Khrushchev** wherein he had said that we should learn one thing from capitalist system that the fixation of price in our industries should be on the lines that it should earn more and more profit

* Referring to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

** Referring to Mr. Nikita Sergeyerich Khrushchev.

and then that profit should be invested for the development of country. If Khrushchev says this, then it is socialist attitude and a revolutionary tradition. If hon'ble Ashok Mehtaji says so for the development of India it becomes a retrograde step only. The great leaders from Communist Party are skilful in giving this kind of interpretation.

Another point which Bhupesh Gupta raised about taxes, was also quite clear. Ashok Mehtaji had said in his address to the Chamber of Commerce that tax should be imposed on those who can pay taxes and only then it would be judicious tax. In this connection, he should go through the speech delivered by Shri Ashok Mehta. He had said while speaking about 10 per cent profit, that tax should be imposed on people earning 10 per cent profit and such people should be ready to pay tax. Unfortunately or fortunately, we can not make amendments in the fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution of India. Despite these fundamental rights, if Shri Ashok Mehtaji says that more tax should be imposed on people earning 10 per cent profit and that profit should be used for welfare and development of society. What is wrong in it? I do not understand it.

I am sorry to say that when some measures are taken it is said that objection is raised from the Opposition Party. However, Members of Congress Party would pardon me for saying that they try to go back even after moving one step forward. What had Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru said while introducing Shri Ashok Mehta to the members of Planning Commission? He had said that planning of our country has stagnated and therefore they had invited Ashok Mehtaji to remove that stagnation and to bring dynamism. I feel sorry that some members from Congress had told me that I should be thankful to them as one of my men has been appointed Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission by them. This country has no future if you want to run the political system of this country within such a narrow mental framework. When the opposition is from the Communist Party and from other people and if Prime Minister can say so, I feel sorry, but can hon'ble Planning Minister not say that Shri Ashok Mehta is the only person in the politics of India who has not cared for his political career and cutting across party lines and narrow politics, has worked for the economic development and prosperity of the country and strived to take the country to new heights? I feel that our party has differences on this matter, but what did Congressmen do in this regard. Talking of Opposition Party, I can understand the viewpoint of hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta who has no belief in democracy. I can understand Shri Loknath Mishra who has no belief in economic planning but what is the view of Congressmen who have socialistic bent of mind?

Hon'ble Madam, I will finish after making a point. There is a story in *Puranas*. Everyone might have heard the name of *Ravana*. He once felt that he was such a great ascetic that he could achieve all the wealth and

prosperity through penance, so why should he fight out *Rama*. Why should not he become *Rama* through his penance. Having decided this, *Ravana* started meditating. As a result, all his evil tendencies began to shed one by one. However, he began to feel that his powers were deteriorating and he got frightened. He said that he wanted to remain a devil. The same is the case with the Congress Party. Congress Party thinks that it should become democratic socialist party. Having decided to become a democratic socialist party, it takes a step in the right direction. However, when the old ties, traditions and sources of power appear to be weakening, it begins to think that it should seek support of Morarji Desai and S.K. Patil and that it should not detach itself from Tata and Birla. Thus the Congress opts to live in a rotten state of affairs having lost its spirit and zeal. There is an opportunity now in Indian Politics and for the Congress Party and for all the democratic socialists in the interest of the economic development of the country that they should think whether devil should remain a devil or the devil wants to be a wealthy socialist by diminishing its power and its devilish attitude for a short time and conceptualize a new society and build a new India.

MID-TERM APPRAISAL: FOURTH FIVE YEAR PLAN*

Madam Vice-Chairperson, this debate on the Mid-term Plan Appraisal is the time for introspection and I am glad that the Government have given this opportunity for us to express our viewpoint. The hon. Planning Minister yesterday made an appeal and urged upon the Members that we should not go into the details. Rightly so. Of course we should indicate the broad policy questions that are affecting our planning, affecting implementation of the planning and the planning process. I am glad that in his speech in the other House and also in this House the hon. Minister has made certain observations which touch the real malady in our planning. The hon. Minister said that the Gross National Product, even if increased, does not automatically mean the eradication of poverty. He has also accepted that more production is not enough, distributive justice is necessary. He has also gone a step forward and has said that even if the production is increasing, there may be a situation where the neglected sons of our society may not have the benefit of our planned development. It is an observation which should be welcomed because it seems that the Government has realised this point. But I am constrained to say that the hon'ble Planning Minister has stopped at this point. I do not understand the justification why this malady is operating in our economy, in our economic development, for the last quarter of a century. It is for the first time that the Planning Minister has made these observations. Madam Vice-Chairperson, from the very beginning of the planning or, if I may say, in the very Resolution of Parliament under which the Planning Commission was constituted, those observations were made. As far back as in March, 1950, when the President declared the intention to constitute a Planning Commission, even in that Address of the President the same sentiments were expressed. Madam Vice-Chairperson, if we go into the documents of the First Five Year Plan, I can say with some confidence that a better document has not so far been produced by the Planning Commission. All the laudable ideals are there. All the good intentions are there and good sentiments have been expressed. But in spite of those sentiments we have not achieved our goal. Many a time we have made reviews. We have discussed these appraisals, but again we have been related to the same maladies and same mistakes. I am glad that the hon'ble Minister of Planning was realistic this time, though hesitation was

* Participating in the Motion regarding Fourth Five Year Plan—Mid-term appraisal; Rajya Sabha Debate, 12 April 1972, *cc.* 126-139.

there in indicating remedial measures. But I was a little shocked to read the speech of my esteemed friend, Shri Mohan Dharia, which he made in the other House. It was a shock to me because I am connected with him not only as a friend, but as a co-worker in the field of politics and in the economic regeneration of the country. He wanted to co-operate with us in the party and in the country. Mr. Mohan Dharia tried to drive us to the wonderland of El Dorado and tried to emphasise that within two years something unique is going to happen. In this House he said that within two years no engineer and technician would be unemployed. He said that it is possible. In the other House he made an assertion that after the Fifth Five Year Plan there would be no question of *'Garibi Hatao'*. *Garibi* would be *'Hato-ed'* by the end of the Fifth Five Year Plan. I find that the Planning Minister says that by the end of the Sixth Plan *Garibi* would vanish from our land. My young friend is more enthusiastic and more dynamic. So, he thinks that within the period of the Fifth Five Year Plan, this is possible. What is the purpose of planning? Have you ever seriously considered this aspect? With your permission, I would like to read a sentence from the first part of the First Five Year Plan and it will indicate what is the purpose of planning:—

> "The economic condition of a country at any given time is a product of the broader social environment, and economic planning has to be viewed as an integral part of a wider process aiming not merely at the development of resources in a narrow, technical sense, but at the development of human faculties and the building up of an institutional framework adequate to the needs and aspirations of the people."

This is a sentence from the first part of the First Plan document. Have you made any attempt to bring about those institutional frameworks? I have tried to look into the whole Appraisal, but there is no mention of curbing monopoly. There is no mention of eradicating concentration of economic power. It has been said in the Directive Principles of the Constitution. It has been said in the Address of the President some time in 1950. It has been said in the Resolution of Parliament, but after two mandates in favour of *"Garibi Hatao"* we think that we can banish poverty without eliminating monopoly and concentration of economic power. It is a ridiculous proposition because abolition of poverty means the reconstruction of the whole society. You cannot reconstruct the society unless and until you demolish what is outdated or what is outmoded. There is no mention of it in the whole Plan. Why? It is not that it is accidental. I would have overlooked this mission in the Plan document, but the document cannot be studied in isolation. I should like to point out certain facts of our economic and political life today. I shall not go into the statistics because it will take the time of the House. If you look into the Appraisal you will find that in the industrial

sector, in the core sector, the shortfall has been very heavy. In the non-core sector there has been better performance, but what this document has omitted conveniently to mention is that in the luxury sector, which is not included in the Plan programme we have achieved more than the target. I do not know whether your attention has been drawn to this aspect of our planning or not that for certain luxury items there is no target fixed. Take, for instance, the case of refrigerators or of airconditioners or of certain cosmetics, or even cars. Here no targets are being fixed by the Planning Commission. These targets are fixed by the various agencies of the Government of India—maybe—in the Industrial Development Ministry or some other Ministry—I do not want to go into that. But what is happening in this country? We have produced and manufactured more cars. What was our target? But what is the cry for this in country? Produce more cars or let there be people's cars? After some time the slogan was changed and it was said, let there be small cars. According to the estimates given before this House and the country, a small car will cost ₹ 19000 approximately; by the time it comes into existence, it will cost ₹ 24000 or ₹ 25000. Even with the best intention of the Planning Commission and the spectacular achievement of our Government, after the Fifth Plan, not even one per cent of the pepole in the country will be able to have the so-called small car. But what happened? This cry was not only in this House—in the newspaper, everywhere, people said, small car should come. When it was proposed, the Planning Commission opposed it; they said, there should be no car manufactured because it does not come in our priority list. But the Government over-ruled it.

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And letters of intent were given for manufacturing cars in the private sector. Then came the question: Why not manufacture car in the public sector? The opposition was, again, from the Planning Commission, and this opposition was accepted, according to the press report, by the Government. What is the reason given? Why should the Government employ the resources of the public exchequer for producing car if it is not a priority item. There are two types of resources in this country—one is the resources in the coffers of the Government and the other is the resources in the coffers of Mr. Birla and Mr. Tata. And those resources are drawn from the financial institutions again, run by the Government of India. If this fragmented thinking is there, I do not know what type of planning we are going to do in this country. I gave you this one example, because this shows the mentality, the thinking in the Government. This shows the mentality with which we are suffering today. With this mentality, I do not know how Mr. Subramaniam is going to fix Plan priorities because there cannot be any discrimination between the resources available with the Government of India and the

resources available with the private monopolists. I do not want to go into details. But if you see the pattern of investment with the resources with private business, more than 50 per cent are the resources of the Government of India. This is a peculiar situation in our country. Now, I say this only to emphasise that while the core industries are suffering, while the non-core industries mentioned in the Plan are suffering, luxury items are getting all facilities and we are achieving more than the target. Not only that. If we want an integrated planning, we will have to go a little further. But you will find an amusing aspect and a pathetic one, if I may say so. Very recently the Ministry of Foreign Trade made an announcement as a heroic gesture to the valiant fighters in the recent war with Pakistan. The announcement has come that all war invalid people will be allowed to import cars. And only that. They do not stop at that. They said not only this about invalid people but also about foreign wives, that people with foreign wives will be allowed imported cars. There will be discrimination between you and an hon'ble Member who might marry some lady from the USA or the UK. I do not know what the justification is.

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What I was trying to emphasise was that all these departments of the Government seem to run at variance with one another. On the one side, the hon'ble Planning Minister says that we are going to achieve self-sufficiency. He goes on announcing in this House—even yesterday he said it—that by the end of the Fifth Plan they will fix up a target that they do not require foreign aid. At the same time, within a span of days or weeks, another department of the Government comes with an announcement which at least a layman like me does not understand. Perhaps there may be some very intelligent statesmanship on economic workmanship of people in the various ministries of the Government.

Madam, I shall like to emphasise another point, *i.e.* about these luxury items. We have been telling again and again that our planning will touch the whole of our national life. Take, the case of All India Radio, over which my friend, Shri I.K. Gujral, presided for quite some time. They introduced commercial advertisements.

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I do not know. Now, what is commercial advertising doing today? It is creating an appetite for luxury goods. The Government is gaining a few lakhs of rupees and perhaps there is also a proposal that television should also be used for advertising these luxury goods. Are we really aiming at a new society based on equality of opportunity, a society for the benefit of the poorest man? My revered friend, Shri N.G. Goray, a little while ago emphasised a point and rightly so, that it is not enough that we try to drive

our economy in the right direction, but we have also to create a psychology in the country that money will not be wasted on all that is not necessary. A lot of emphasis has been given on saving. It is right. There should be an effort to make more saving, because without more saving, there is no possibility of more investment and without more investment we cannot have more employment potential. I shall not again go into details. But what does this document indicate? Saving has been more than the target in the banking sector, more than the target in life insurance and more than the target in the co-operative sector. Even in household saving, there has been an increase. But saving has been lacking in the corporate sector. What are the remedies adopted by the Government to force or influence or persuade the corporate sector to have more saving? This slogan of saving, Madam, may lead us ashtray because if we talk of saving, I have my apprehension that tomorrow it may be said that there will be more tax rebates and more facilities to the corporate sector because saving has been much more than what they anticipated in other sectors of our economy. This slogan may be used to give more benefits, more advantages to the monopolists. I do not know what is going to happen in the future. But may I very humbly draw the attention of the Planning Minister to the fact that very recently we allowed, your Government allowed, 100 per cent expansion in certain industries. There were 59 or 56 industries. I do not remember. I think there were 54. And one of those industries included man-made fibres. On what ground? "On the ground that these man-made fibres are used in the army action. And what does the army use it for? For parachutes. For parachutes we have allowed expansion—a hundred per cent in man-made fibres. And what has been the result? For the last seven or ten years some big monopolies who were not allowed to regularise their extra capacity have been allowed by one stroke of the pen in the name of the expediency, in the name of helping war effort. This is what is happening in our country. The MRTP Act was passed with fanfare in this House. Years and months were taken to debate and discuss it. It was said that we are determined to curb the monopoly. But what has happened to this MRTP Act and the Monopolies Commission for the last two years. In many questions, in many problems, they are not even consulted. Even this morning you might have seen, Madam Vice-Chairman, a news item, I do not know whether it is true or not, but so far there has been no contradiction. The Ministry of Industrial Development has appointed a task force and that task force has cleared 13 licences, according to my information, again in favour of some big business houses. Whether they are priority items or not, I do not know whether the Planning Commission has been consulted or not. If the resources are scarce in this country, if the Planning Commission is really determined to see that we do not depend upon foreign aid, how can we enjoy or how can we indulge in this luxury in which certain departments of the Government of

India are indulging? I do not know, I have not heard a voice of dissent from any quarter of the Government of India, I have not heard any voice of dissent even from the Members of the Opposition. I submit it very humbly; our wishes may be very pious, our intentions may be very laudable, but economic discipline has its own force. It does not move according to our wishes. I shall urge upon my friend, Mohan Dharia—he may be very sentimental about enjoying the heavenly ecstasy to see every poor man smiling at the economic forces that are being generated in the society today will not allow you to move an inch forward. These economic forces have been responsible for relegating the whole plan process for a quarter of a century. Nothing particular has happened that they will allow you to have an easy walkover. This massive mandate of the people is good. It should be welcomed and we should be proud of it. But it does not solve the economic problem. This only gives an authority. Whether that authority is being used properly or not, it is to be seen. Again with your permission, Madam, I quote from the First Five Year Plan document. Political and administrative conditions essential to successful planning are: (a) a large measure of agreement in the community as to the ends of policy; (b) an effective power based on the active cooperation of citizens in the hands of the State and an earnest and determined exercise of that power in the furtherance of these ends; and (c) an efficient administrative set-up with personnel of requisite capacity and quality. These are essential for a successful planning. You have got the mandate of the people. You have got the goodwill of the people. But what have you done for the willing cooperation of the people? I have not seen anything which can indicate that you have done any thing to get the cooperation of the people. A new slogan has been given: We are going to enter into an era of multi-level planning. But is it a new thing? Is it an innovation? I hope my good friend, Shri C. Subramaniam, knows better than myself. This was the slogan given in the First Five Year Plan. And it was emphasised in a very categorical way not only in the First Five Year Plan but in the Second Five Year Plan also: I quote again:

> "Democratic Structure at District level: In such a structure, village Panchayats would be linked organically with popular organisations at higher levels and, by stages determined in advance, the entire general administration and development of an area (barring certain functions) would become the responsibility of a democratic body."

This was the intention of the planners in the First Plan. But it had certain implications. It does not mean that they will only formulate the plan. You will have to give them some powers. Is Government ready to give more autonomy to the States and at the district level and some autonomy at the village level? It has a far reaching implication. If you want to use

it as a slogan, I have no objection. But if you want to translate it into reality, then you will have to accept the principle of a four-tier system. Whether in today's circumstances it will be possible or whether Government will be ready to part with some power to the States at the district level and village level, I do not know. But if they use it as a slogan, we must always remember that it has its own implications and it has also certain complication which eventually we will have to face. This multi-level planning will not materialise because under the given circumstances of today, I do not think that you will be ready to give more powers to the States, to the districts and to the village level.

Madam, Vice-Chairperson, it is not economic question alone. What are we doing at the level of social services? Planning is not for economic development only. It is something more than that. When we thought of this Plan we were quite clear in our mind as to what we should do. At least Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who initiated this idea of planning was quite clear in his mind and he wrote the following paragraph and put it in the First Five Year Plan. I again quote:

> "We have not only to build up a big productive machine—though this is no doubt a necessary condition of development. We have at the same time to improve health, sanitation and education and create social conditions for vigorous cultural advance. Planning must mean coordinated development in all these fields."

If we see our performance what is the position? What has been indicated in this Plan document? It is a dismal picture. What has happened in the field of education? We have fallen short of our targets in the primary education and more so in women's education. We had to achieve higher targets in higher education and university education. But this Plan document says that the entry of technicians and engineers into colleges has been banned by the State Governments because they think that more engineers will create more problem of unemployment. So is the case with school teachers. There are unemployed school teachers. Expansion in the technical education and school teachers' education has been stopped. This has been indicated in this Plan document. What does it mean? There is thinking in the Planning Commission that though today it may be very laudable, if it is not been stopped, there will be more unemployment. I say we are blocking the path of progress for the present generation of students who would have been perhaps better engineers and better technicians and better school teachers. With 65 or 70 per cent illiteracy we cannot afford to stop school teachers' education. It is a peculiar type of planning and with this planning we think that we shall be able to bring about a new social order, not a new social order, but a social order in favour of the common man, in favour of the toiling masses. Our Prime Minister has said

that our efforts will be to give benefit to the dumb teeming millions who cannot raise their voice. Even our Planning Minister has said that there are millions in this country who cannot express themselves and it will be our effort to see that they get the benefit. How can they get the benefit if in primary education we fall short of our targets? Madam Vice-Chairperson, I shall not go into details. What has happened to the programme of providing drinking water? In the whole of the Plan period that we are discussing, we have been able to give drinking water to 76 lakhs of people according to this document and this document again says that we shall take 30 to 40 years to give drinking water to the scarcity areas, not to the whole of the country. And they have again said the pious hope that they will accelerate the progress. This is the position. I will not go into more details. What has happened to the backward classes? What has happened to the Harijans? In every field of social welfare we have lagged behind our targets, Madam.

Madam, I shall now come to another point, the most talked-about problem and that is the problem of land reforms. The slogan given by the Planning Commission is that we shall seriously implement the land reforms. This has been said by the Prime Minister, by the Planning Minister and my friend, Shri Dharia, has repeated it time and again. But is it a new slogan? Has not the slogan been repeated again and again? What has happened during these year? What has happend during the past few months? You have given some model legislation. This model legislation is not being adopted by your own Government. Madam, I was today very much amused to see the proceedings of the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting. It is my misfortune, Madam Vice-Chairperson, that another friend of mine, Shri Krishan Kant, has been reported to have said there that "If the Chief Ministers do not implement the land reforms, kick them out; others have been kicked out and they should also be kicked out". Are we the people to kick out everybody here and there, kick out one person or the other? It may give sadistic pleasure, but it does not solve the problem and it is not a solution of the problem. The people are not bothered about who is the Chief Minister and the people are not bothered about what the Congress Parliamentary Party says. The people want to know what you have done for implementation. It is always easy to find scapegoats. For six months you have tried and nothing happened. You kick out one Chief Minister and bring another Chief Minister and ask the people to wait for six months more. Such gymanstics should be stopped and at least the radical socialists should not fall a prey to such slogans. This kind of slogan-giving should be stopped. It is hardly of any benefit or any advantage to the common man. Who is pushed out and pushed in is no concern of the common man. He wants only results. It is a very dangerous thing if any Congressman wants to take shelter behind such slogans and he is miserably mistaken in thinking that people will tolerate. Whether this Chief Minister or the other Chief Minister, this programme should be implemented and it should be more radical.

Madam, I shall quote Mahatma Gandhi here. It was in 1942 when Louis Fischer came to this country. He put certain questions to Bapu and one question by Louis Fischer was this: "What is your programme for the improvement of the lot of the peasantry?" The reply from Mahatma Gandhi was: "The peasants should take the land. We would not have to tell them, to take it." Louis Fischer said: "It may create an atmosphere of violence." Then, Bapu said: "There may be fifteen days of chaos. But it can soon be brought under control." This was the sentiment of Mahatma Gandhi in 1942. Now, in 1972, my radical friend, Shri Krishan Kant, thinks in terms of kicking out the Chief Ministers who do not implement the programme after six months of legislation. Whether we are advancing or whether we are going back, I do not understand.

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I do not know whether I am radical or not. This is all right.....*

Madam Vice-Chairperson, I shall come to the public sector. What has been the role of the public sector? I shall not go into it. The public sector has faced a lot of criticism. It is true that there have been certain shortfalls in certain respects in managing the public sector. But some good attempts are being made, I must confess. A few months back, I had the misfortune so to say, to criticize the functioning of Hindustan Steel. And at that time I criticized certain officials heading the Hindustan Steel. At that time, there was a furore. But I am glad to say that Shri Mohan Kumaramangalam, the Steel Minister, realised that there was something basically wrong. The man was removed. Certain changes were made. And I can say that is the only department of the sector in which some real, genuine attempts are being made to improve the situation. I do not know whether Shri Mohan Kumaramangalam will succeed or not. But I can say that he is doing that.

For improving the public sector, my friend Shri Mohan Dharia reminded us in his speech in the other House that we had accepted mixed economy. Is it necessary to remind us the strangulating fact? The tentacles of private monopolists can be perceived anywhere and everywhere in this country. For that we do not need the Planning Minister to remind us. You go anywhere in any field, you will find the impact of private investment and monopolists.

In the Second Five Year Plan it is stated:

> "The public sector has to expand rapidly. It has not only to initiate development which the private sector is either unwilling or unable to undertake. It has to play a dominant role in shaping the entire pattern of investment in the economy whether it makes investments directly or whether they are made by the private sector."

* Replying to Shri C. Subramaniam—"Thank God, there is at least one radical."

The dominance of the public sector did not mean that we should invest more. The public sector should be in a position to influence the investment in the private sector. Have we marched in that direction? I leave it to the House and to you, Madam Vice-Chairperson, to judge. We have not done. We have not moved in that direction even a little.

Madam Vice-Chairperson, I shall make one or two points and then finish my speech. The question of regional imbalance has been stressed again and again. A little while ago, a friend from Bihar was talking about the backwardness of Bihar. A few months back I went to meet certain students of Bihar and they asked me one question: What is the economic independence for us? In the collieries of Bihar and in the industrial belts of Bihar, people from other States come. These people earn profits from that area but they do not invest anything in that area. For investment they go to Calcutta[#], Bombay[@] or Ahmedabad.

Madam Vice-Chairperson, about your own State, a special correspondent of the *Hindustan Standard,* Mr. Ranjit Roy, has brought out a book—*Agonies of West Bengal*. I do not know whether these facts are correct or not. But is it not the responsibility of the Government to see that the observations made in that book are looked into? There has been a case made out by that journalist that consistently through fiscal policy and other measures the eastern region, that is, the old Bengal Presidency has been exploited. And this type of feeling creates annoyance among the youngmen of that area.

About the regional imbalances we should do something. The idea of regional planning was mooted out in the very first Five Year Plan. But nothing happened. There are many economically backward areas but very little was done. I hope that the Planning Commission will look into this aspect because these regional imbalances may create bitterness, may create difficulties in our social and economic life. Our political life may be in difficulty because of these regional imbalances. The political situation as it is today will not remain forever. It is always a changing situation and the planners should be ready for a changing situation too. It is not enough that we have got an overwhelming majority in the States, an overwhelming majority in the Parliament. So we should not think that everything will go for the coming two or three decades and that we shall do in whatever manner we like. I hope that the Planning Commission will look into this aspect.

Madam, Vice-Chairperson, in the end, may I urge upon the Planning Minister and the Planning Commission that it is good to talk of a new social order, it is good to talk of *garibi hatao* but you cannot evade the logical sequences of such a slogan? You have to restructure the society; you will

[#] Now known as Kolkata.
[@] Now known as Mumbai.

have to curb monopoly; you will have to attack the concentration of economic power; conspicuous consumption will have to be eliminated. I am glad that the Planning Minister has indicated in that direction—that there should be no conspicuous consumption. But it is not for the first time that he has said it. When he was the President of the AICC in Bombay, in December, 1969 we passed a Resolution wherein many suggestions were given. But from 1969 to 1972 not one carpet was rolled out from the offices or bungalows of a single Minister. It is a question not only in terms of economics or finance but it is also a psychological question. The people at the top will have to adopt a new outlook about their own life and they will have to radiate a new hope, a new commitment among the people; Commitment to socialism, by words, is always there, not only among the socialists but also among the philanthrophists.

This *garibi hatao* slogan given by the hon'ble Shri C. Subramaniam in the Shivaji Park of Bombay is nothing new. This slogan was given for the first time when man adopted civilisation. But so far it has failed because the social forces that were operating did not allow him to do that. Even today there are social parasites who are living by exploiting man, who are trying to exploit the toiling masses; they are at work. Unless and until you curb them, unless and until you try to eradicate them and exercise them you cannot touch the goal and I hope that the Government and the Planning Commission will muster the requisite courage to take into account this aspect of our planning.

Thank you.

FIFTH FIVE YEAR PLAN*

Deputy Chairman, Sir, I salute the Planning Commission and my esteemed friend, Shri D.P. Dhar, the Planning Minister and his deputy, the Minister of State for Planning, Shri Mohan Dharia, for giving a new dimension to the thinking of the Planning Commission in this Approach document.

Sir, this is not just to flatter them. But it is a fact that for the first time the Planning Commission has made certain categorical commitments to the people of this country. The commitments are clear and I hope that the Planning Commission and the people guiding the destiny of this Planning Commission understand the implications of these commitments. What have they said? They have said that for the benefit of the 30 per cent of the lower-class pepole, the poorest people in this country, 30 per cent of the people at the top will have to make sacrifices and they will have to curtail their consumption by 5 per cent. It will be a great achievement and it will mean that the consumption of the rural poor will increase by 60 per cent if this target is achieved. This is a very laudable objective. But, surprisingly enough Shri Deputy Chairman, Sir, inspite of his imagination, vision and laudable objective, when we come to the hard realities of life, we see that the Planning Commission is not free from the manipulations of the master-mind of the bureaucracy which is dragging us to the old mire of lethargy and complacency, in respect of the real situation that is obtaining in the country now. Sir, yesterday there was some remark from the Opposition side that these are only dreams and my esteemed friend, Shri Manubhai Shah, said that without dreams a country cannot progress. There is a little difference. Deputy Chairman, Sir, between a dream and a vision. I can grant some more facility or some more scope for my esteemed friend, Shri D.P. Dhar, who comes from the beautiful valley of Kashmir to indulge in some such fantasy. Sir, it is good for metaphysics, it may be good for art and it may be good for poetry. But when we have to face the hard realities of economic life, dreams do not help. It is only the vision that can be put into action and what is the vision about tomorrow's India in the mind of the Planning Commission and in the mind of the party to which we belong? That has been made repeatedly clear in this House and outside this House also. If they are going to make these people reduce their consumption by 5 per cent in the same Plan document it has been said that their incomes

* Participating in the discussion on the "Approach to Fifth Five Year Plan, 1974-79", Rajya Sabha Debate, 1 August 1973, cc. 198-216.

will grow, but their consumption will decrease. What is the machinery with the Planning Commission and the Government of India? Have we not heard such slogans in the past? Many laudable objectives were enumerated in the First Plan document. I can say even today that the First Plan is a really good document, economic document produced in this country, at least in its objectives. But it failed. Why did it fail? It failed because the situation at the time of real implementation was something different.

Deputy Chairman, Sir, yesterday we were discussing about the food situation. My esteemed friend, Mr. T.N. Singh referred to his experiences in the Planning Commission. He said that he knew something about the Planning Commission. He has knowledge and are very intimate knowledge. Does hon'ble D.P. Dhar remember that in the First Plan and in the Second Plan documents it was categorically mentioned that we should create buffer stocks in foodgrains? It was also said that the Government should be responsible to provide food to the vulnerable sections of the urban population. It was said categorically in the First Plan document and it was repeated in the Second Plan document. Deputy Chairman, Sir, when buffer stocks were created, then came the regime of Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, which regime was praised yesterday by my friend, Shri T.N. Singh. What did Rafi Saheb do? He opened up the market mechanism. He stopped releases from the stores of the Government. Market went down for the time being. Slowly and slowly, decontrol was brought in the food economy of this country. All buffer stocks were exhausted and decontrol was complete. The day decontrol was complete—I do not say this on my own; there is the whole Foodgrain Inquiry Committee Report—within a month prices again began to rise.....

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And to our bad luck, within a short period Rafi Saheb was no more in our midst. It created an illusion not in the minds of the people in this country, but in the mind of the Government and the Planning Commission, decontrol has done. And that was the beginning of the distortion of our food policy. Even today, that distortion continues, and this mentality continues in the Government of India. I do not accuse anybody; I have no intention to raise an accusing finger towards the Planning Minister or any other Minister. But are we not going to search our heart?

I hope my friend, Shri D.P. Dhar, remembers the Ahmedabad session, the Gandhinagar session. When he talked about the take-over of foodgrains, Deputy Chairman, Sir, my humble self said that the food situation was going to be critical. I said: You should take over coarse grain. I said: Do not go whole-hog; do not make it a prestige issue; give more price to the farmer

and procure more. What was done? From one side I was attacked as an extremist. Some friends who were 'progressive', and some newspapers and periodicals said that I was pleading the cause of the corrupt lobby. My Friend, Shri D.P. Dhar though his whispering was aggreable to me, also kept quiet when it was time of decision. I said that the food situation was going to be more critical. It was September, 1972. On the 4th October, I wrote to the hig-hups in the Government and the party organization, that whatever picture was being painted it was wrong.

Deputy Chairman, Sir, I was told that this would create panic. Panic for whom? Do you think that foodgrain traders do not know what is happening in the country and in the international market? Do you think that hoarders and black-marketeers do not know? They know better than what Shri Dhar knows or what Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed knows. The people who are suffering from hunger and starvation know the real panic. From whom are you concealing this? You are concealing this, because you do not want to go full length. You do not want to follow the logical consequences of this. When you took over the wholesale trade in foodgrains, what was the idea of saying that we will procure 8 million tonnes of wheat? There was a lurking hope in the minds of the policy makers and I hope my friend Shri D.P. Dhar also perhaps shares this view, that traders will cooperate in procuring 8 million tonnes and after that we can tide over the crisis and again the situation will be altered. But it did not happen. The vested interests took it as an affront. They challenged the Government and to our surprise, dismay and anguish, we find that we are placed in a difficult situation. I appeal to the Government that they should conceal nothing from the people. People are ready to make sacrifices. But are you really ready to make the upper starta of the society to make sacrifices? Are you ready to say that five per cent curtailment in the consumption of the upper limits is going to be implemented whatever the cost may be? You have to decide this. My hon. friend, Shri Sardesai[@] has made my job much more simple. Mr. Deputy Chairman, we have to decide whether the production forces are the big monopolists and industrialists or the production forces are the people who are the toiling masses and who are producing wealth by their labour..... When we talk of inflation, my friend, Shri D.P. Dhar, has been repeatedly saying that our position has been difficult because of Bangladesh war and drought. Mr. Deputy Chairman, you will remember that for 3 successive years, there was the best monsoon and high yield in our Agriculture. Even in the Bangladesh war, these private industrialists gained more profits from the jute market. But what was the climate of private investment during these years when the monsoon was good, when the agricultural production was at its best and when the profits also were not

* Shri S.G. Sardesai, M.P.

very scanty? Why did they not invest in production? It was because if they could gain easy profits by producing loss in a sheltered market, they did not bother about your appeal. I read in the Press that the Prime Minister expressed some anguish about the non-cooperation of these big industrialists and there was a rejoinder from someone representing the industrialists and not the big industrialists themselves. After the 1971 massive mandate, in 1973 these industrialists feel that they can twist the arm of the Government. Here is the decision to be made and it is not going to be an easy task. Transformation from one social structure to another is a difficult thing. My friend, Shri D.P. Dhar, has aroused a new hope. Now I salute him not because he is a personal friend of mine. Six months back, I was branded as an irresponsible person. Now, with the authenticity of the Planning Commission and under the signatures of Shri D.P. Dhar, here is a document which says that if you have to take the country out of this morass of economic stagnation, you will have to make these richer people sacrifice in the interest of the poorer people. This has created a hope. But has this in any way altered the situation or the behaviour of the Government or the behaviour of these people to whom the appeals are made? My friend, Shri Dhar, I want to give you a word of caution and a word of warning in all humility. It is that the proclamation of Lenin and the behaviour of Wajid Ali Shah are incompatible. They cannot go together. They are in different directions. They cannot co-exist. In your proclamation, in your ideals and in your objectives, you may go much farther or much more forward than what Lenin could have done, but what has been the pattern of your behaviour during these few months? Deputy Chairman, Sir, I shall give you some facts. These facts are not mine. These facts are the Government's. There has been a 20 per cent increase in the prices and what has been the explanation from the Government? This is a global phenomenon. But is there global phenomenon that production has not increased there? What has been the situation of production, especially in the industrial sector? It has gone down.

Deputy Chairman, Sir, not only this, we are talking of mopping up resources. I have not much time to quote but the Planning Commission document is full of an idea that we shall generate resources by mopping up extra resources. Sir, here is a figure relating to about 346 big companies, and what they have been doing about the profits, what has been their attitude. It is given in the Reserve Bank Bulletin, page 552. This is recent. In 1970-71 the saving in profits was 29.9 per cent for reinvestment. In 1971-72 it has gone down to 25 per cent and this is the year when their profits have increased but they are distributing the profits, they are not preserving those profits for reinvestment. Sir, may I humbly ask Shri D.P. Dhar if he could take any revolutionary step, whether it was possible for him to announce today that there will be a dividend relief? If you earn

profits you can earn profits not for distribution but for reinvestment to modernise the industry. Even this is not being done. Then what is the hope for tomorrow, from whom are you going to get resources? The Planning Commission document again thinks of mopping up money by indirect taxes. Shri D.P. Dhar was talking about fighting inflation in bold and courageous words. I shall not give examples but there are two sets of examples. The one is of China where every ounce of gold was taken away from the people and preserved to fight inflation. Extreme measures were taken. You will say that is a totalitarian regime. What did West Germany do recently? They went for direct taxes and not only that they cut down the expenditure on establishment. And what are you doing here in this country? Since we are talking of saving our resources, what has been the trend of expenditure on our establishment? In 1969-70 it was ₹ 2900 crores; in 1970-71 it was ₹ 3130 crores; in 1971-72 it was ₹ 4172 crores; in 1972-73 it was ₹ 4591 crores and in 1973-74 it is ₹ 4752 crores. Is this the Plan expenditure? I do not know whether the *Yojna Bhawan* has any control over other *Bhawans*. If you want to start with austerity, can you reduce this establishment expenditure? If you are not going to reduce this expenditure, how can you make a plea that the people should cut their expenditure? Here are the hard decisions to be taken by the Government and my friend, Shri D.P. Dhar, has been always talking about structural changes. Sometimes, press people say that we clash with each other but I have found, Mr. Deputy Chairman, in all private and public discussions, Shri Dhar will agree on all fundamental issues and when it comes to the implementation he throws his hands in despair and says that he can give advice, he can give the document. Sir, he is not the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, only, he is also a Minister of the Government of India and I hope he knows the responsibility of a Minister. He cannot be satisfied only by giving a document. He will be called upon, he will be held responsible for implementing those ideas which have been given in this document. I was talking about non-Plan expenditure. We talk again of cutting down conspicuous consumption but I have not yet been able to understand why in this Plan document ₹ 280 crores are earmarked for giving loans to Government employees to purchase cars. If according to my information, ₹ 16,000 are given to one employee for purchasing a car, it will mean that 50,000 more cars will be required in the Plan period. Is Shri D.P. Dhar going to generate more capacity for manufacturing cars? If not, why has this figure come in the document? My poor friend, Shri Om Mehta, three months back was talking from the high pulpit that they were going to fulfil their pledge to the people in regard to basic needs, that they were going to provide houses to the poorer sections of the people and they were going to provide houses to the slum dwellers. Today there has been a heavy slash of his Budget. But you give loans to the Government servants for housing and very recently it has been

increased from ₹ 50,000 to ₹ 70,000. This is the Plan you are going to implement and this is the planning in which you want the 550 million people of this country to have faith and to make sacrifices for its success? It is not possible. People who are constructing houses with ₹ 75,000, are they poor people? People who are purchasing cars, are they poor people. According to your own estimate, if everything goes all right only two per cent of the people in the country in 1980 will be able to purchase cars provided the car prices remain what they are today which is an impossible thing. This is the agonising situations through which we have to pass and Deputy Chairman, Sir, no planner can succeed if he is not a realist, if he does not analyse the objective situation. Shri D.P. Dhar said yesterday that we should analyse the situation and we should give concrete suggestions but the choice is very limited Mr. Deputy Chairman. No kind of manipulation, no kind of arithmetical exercise is going to give us many alternatives. An year back in one of my public speeches, I said if you want to adopt the slogan of *garibi hatao* you must give the slogan of *amiri hatao*. It drew the attention of big people and I was criticised but there is no way out. In this poor country if you give the slogan of *garibi hatao* and you also give the slogan of self-reliance there is very little option left. Are you ready to fight these institutions? If you are not ready to fight these institutions our fate is doomed. I am not a prophet of doom. Our fate does not mean the fate of the country. I am an optimist and I have full faith in the people of this country. But the future of this parliamentary democracy and of this planning is doomed. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I shall give you a few examples. Bank nationalisation was there. We talked so much about bank nationalisation. What was the idea behind it? The idea was to have a better credit policy. Have we been able to succeed in it? Can Shri D.P. Dhar say what is the credit policy today? When the first document, an approach to the approach paper was there, we read in the papers that the Chairman of the Planning Commission and the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi was pleading with Members of the Planning Commission for a policy framework. I want to ask, where is that policy framework? If not about the whole thing, where is the policy framework about the credit institutions? My friend, Shri Sardesai gave some examples. Deputy Chairman, Sir, you will be surprised to note that till very recently and up to recent times these banks were advancing loans for commercial purposes more than a thousand crores. When inflation was going on side by side, in June all of a sudden the Reserve Bank woke up to the situation and said there should be a credit squeeze. The Governor of the Reserve Bank is on record having said that these credits were utilised for purposes which were not desirable to the society. Who is responsible for that? Was the Planning Commission looking into it or not? What was the Finance Ministry or the Reserve Bank doing before June, 1973? When things get out of hand, you cry in despair and try to do something. It is not possible to function in this way.

Deputy Chairman, Sir, my friend raised the question of foreign exchange resources. A year back or more than a year back I made a speech in this House and in some debate I mentioned one example where the Government of India in the Ministry of Foreign Trade had given this concession. If you marry a foreign lady, you will be entitled to a foreign car. It was publicised at that time and I thought that the scheme had been dropped, but does Shri D.P. Dhar know that the scheme will continue?

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Now, coming to foreign collaboration, Mr. Sardesai mentioned something about it. It is not a joke. You will be surprised to know again that our foreign exchange rules have been relaxed. Previously a person living in a foreign country for a year or so was entitled to purchase a car worth ₹ 30,000 or ₹ 40,000. Now, there is a new model, 280 Mercedes or something in order to make this car available to them, this price-limit has been increased by the Foreign Trade Ministry. You can bring a more modern car when you come back from foreign country. Does the Commission give a report showing a whole list of how we have wasted our foreign exchange resources by going in for collaboration agreements for nothing? The Dutt Committee has come and gone. It has been discussed in the House. I do not know whether the Planning Commission had cleared it or not, but only three or four months back a collaboration agreement was entered into for manufacturing ladies' under-garments in this country. This is the psychology of this country. This is the stage where we have reached. He should enquire from the Foreign Trade Ministry. This is the situation. I appeal to Shri D.P. Dhar saying that if he wants really to achieve the objectives of this Plan, he will have to scratch some of these schemes and, if necessary some of the schemes which are half-way should be pulled out. There may be some national waste in that, but there is no going back from it. Take the case of textiles. What is the amount we are spending on textiles? If we are exporting ₹ 100 crores worth textiles, we import long staple cotton worth ₹ 113 crores. Then, we give subsidy in a round-about way. That comes to nearly ₹ 30 to ₹ 40 crores. The ₹ 50 crores on dyes, collaboration, technical know-how and other things. Why do we not stop it?

What heavens are going to fall? One economic policy brings in distortion. The textile people are being given doles by the Government of India. But in the eastern sector, what has happened? We are imposing export duty on jute. The whole eastern region which is economically a backward region is being fleeced, whether it is Assam, Tripura, Manipur, Bengal, Bihar or eastern UP where jute is produced. The jute farmer there is getting a less price, the worker there is getting less wages, and the Government is imposing an export duty on jute grown there while giving fillip for the export of this

cotton textile. Mr. Deputy Chairman, why is it being done? This policy was pursued by the Britishers. Why are you continuing this policy? And jute is still the major foreign exchange earner for this country. What has happened because of this policy? It has created regional imbalances. I shall go into it a little later.

I was talking about foreign exchange, how it is being wasted. We are earning a little and spending more. There is the study—how for your earning one rupee of foreign exchange, on many items you are spending five rupees in Indian currency. Take the case of textiles. From 1950 to 1960, we spent ₹ 160 crores or more on khadi in order to give solace to the soul of Mahatma Gandhi. There is the Khadi Commission. We gave money from the Government exchequer in order to save that. We pleaded austerity. And in the same period, my friend, Mr. Manubhai Shah—he is not here and he was the Commerce Minister then, a believer in Khadi—was importing machinery, cotton textile machinery, to produce the Merchandise cloth and in order to feed that machinery, we entered into an agreement to import long staple cotton, worth Rs. 400 crores. It is not possible, Mr. Deputy Chairman, to give solace to the soul of Mahatma Gandhi and the Mafatlals, the Birlas, the Sri Rams and the Tatas together; both cannot go together. You have to decide whether you have to please or satisfy the aspirations of Mahatma Gandhi or you have to be on the right side of the Mafatlals, the Birla and the Singhanias. These are hard decisions. Suppose some factories are closed, some few thousand workers go out of employment for a month or so, is it the reason that you will continue to drain out our foreign exchange resources for nothing? Who will take this decision? I hope the visionary, the revolutionary, the optimist in Shri D.P. Dhar will rise to the occasion and will tell in plain terms of Government and the people, because in a parliamentary democracy we have to share with the people that these are the difficulties. If we are not going to share our difficulties with the people, we are not going to make any headway.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, my friend, Shri D.P. Dhar has said that the core sector will not be affected by the inflation. Yesterday I heard a speech from Mr. Manubhai Shah, a very inspiring speech. I agree with him *in toto* where he defends planning. But he advanced some very queer arguments. I could not understand them. Perhaps the economist in him was absent for some time and he was becoming more poetic. You remember, Shri Dhar, what he said? It was the bold Lal Bahadur Sastri who during the war with Pakistan said that there would be no Plan holiday. But what happened in 1966? I remember, Shri Dhar said in Gandhinagar that a crime was committed when in 1965-1966 and 1967 the core sector of the economy was totally ignored.

And all our maladies are because of that. I do not know whether Shri D.P. Dhar's analysis is right or Shri Manubhai Shah's the defender of the Approach Paper. All these good intentions, Mr. Deputy Chairman, are not going to lead us anywhere. Shri D.P. Dhar says that the core sector will not be affected. Then from where are you going to get the resources, ₹ 550 crores in foreign exchange? You require ₹ 600 crores for food imports. I do not want to give you a panicky picture. Here is a paper, Mr. Deputy Chairman, the Financial Times, which has given a survey about Japan. Will you believe it that till last year no Japanese businessman was allowed to go out with his wife. These are the restrictions imposed by the Japanese Government where they have got the most stable currency. But what is happening in our country? Every time—I do not say about businessmen—any man who is fortunate goes outside the country on one pretext or the other. Delegations go out without any purpose and they spend scarce foreign exchange. Sir, countries do not get name in the international world by sending delegations. For fifteen years your neighbour, China, did not send even one delegation to a foreign country, but every one looks towards her and every tourist today wants to go to China. Are you not going to learn anything from history, from the experience of others? Here is the Financial Times' analysis. A country like Japan, after the second World War, did not allow anybody to construct a house for residential purposes for a particular period. All building material was spent for constructing hospitals, schools, laboratories and industries. Our Government declares from the housetops that we are going to impose celling on urban property. Every day Kailash colony and Vasant Vihar are springing up under the very nose of the Planning Commission. Can you not check it? Can you not stop it? Our irrigation projects are going by default because of construction material. Will Shri D.P. Dhar or my friend, Shri Mohan Dharia, take the trouble to come with me and see how every day new palatial buildings are emerging in the heart of Delhi. Is it the planning you are going to do? Is it the way you are going to achieve your aims?

Sir, you talk of structural changes. Was it not possible for this Government to make a declaration that nobody will be allowed to construct residential houses worth more than a lakh of rupees? No, you cannot do that.

What is the employment position? In 1961 it was 70.50 lakhs in the public sector. In 1966 it was 93.78 lakhs. In 1972 it was 111.89 lakhs. In the private sector in 1961 it was 50.40 lakhs. In 1966-67 it was 68 lakhs and in 1972 it was 57.5 lakhs. Private sector employment has gone down in recent times. And these are the people who are earning easy money and constructing these houses. They are not giving employment to the poor people. Mr. Deputy Chairman, they are constructing monuments of their conspicuous consumption in order that they will be demolished by an angry mob who gets frustrated because of unemployment and rising prices because we have failed to make them achieve their aspirations.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, he said the core sector will not suffer. I do not know what he means by core sector. If he means power generation, heavy engineering, steel and so on, I have no quarrel with him. But what about education? Very recently there has been a cut on education. Right in Delhi—it is a peculiar phenomenon—a new university campus is coming up and four more colleges are coming up, but there has been a cut on primary education. The Advisory Board of Primary Education has very recently given a report that with whatever has been given in the Plan Approach document, up to 1975-76, we are not going to fulfill the promise which is enshrined in the Constitution and which has been reiterated in the Election Manifesto of the Congress Party. Is education not an investment? I shall appeal to Shri D.P. Dhar. He had been our Ambassador in Moscow, very near G.D.R. Two years ago I had been to East Germany and I was very much enthused when one of their educationists said, "Soon after the war, we decided that the first investment we have to make is on child education. We have to educate our population". Here Mahatma Gandhi throughout his life was stressing that there should be adult education. My friends, Shri Borooah, Shri Sitaram Kesri, Dr. I.A. Ahmad, Shri O.P. Tyagiji and Shri T.N. Singh went on giving adult education in the villages. Planning came. We did not hear of adult education. I pleaded again and again in the House and outside. Nobody talks about it. Millions of children will go without even primary education what is going to happen to this country? Do you not want educated people? The future of the children will be bleak. Our cut is on water supply, on drinking water. The World Health Organisation has very recently come with a report that 80 per cent of the diseases in India are water-borne. You are going to have a slash on drinking water supply, you are going to have a slash on education, you are going to have a slash on slum clearance of Shri Om Mehta, but you are not going to have any slash on the establishment, you are not going to have any new behaviour in our pattern of consumption.

A word about regional imbalances. Mr. Deputy Chairman. What is happening is, tension is being created in the whole country, a tension which is mounting every day. You know the eastern region, the old Bengal Presidency, was exploited from the British days. In 1956, there was a freight equalisation formula. According to that formula, if you take coal from Raniganj to Calcutta, you will have to pay the same amount of freight which you will pay if you take it from Raniganj to Chandigarh or Bombay or Madras. What happened was, Bengal, Bihar, Assam and other areas where coal and salt were available nearer, were robbed of all the advantages of nearness. And if you have to export salt or cotton from Bombay and Ahmedabad, you have to pay a heavier freight. By this what happened? The poor regions became poorer and naturally materials, one after another, became scarce for the eastern region. Mr. Deputy Chairman, only recently Philips India, which has a factory somewhere near Calcutta wanted an expansion scheme and they were not given that. A condition was laid that they should produce more radio sets. But in Poona they can produce without any conditions. I am not saying it, but the Governor of West Bengal,

Shri Dias@, is on record as saying that this is creating regional imbalances and heart-burning among the people of Bengal. Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray has repeated the same story, the same agony, the same tale. In the other House, the Planning Minister—I do not remember whether it was—Shri Dhar or Shri C. Subramaniam at that time—said that in Bengal the colonial economy still continues. Are you going to continue the colonial economy in Bengal and Bihar? Some Professor from Bihar came and told me, our people have been exploited for decades and decades.

But no businessman has established any institution there. Shri Tata is one of the most benevolent and the most praised industrialists in the Government circles. My friend, Shri Sitaram Kesri, is here. Does he know that till recently in Jamshedpur, where the Tata zamindari still continues with the blessings of the Bihar Government—and I do not know whether with the concurrence of Shri D.P. Dhar or not—there was not a degree college? Shri Tata has set up institutions in Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Bombay and other places. But right in the heart of Bihar, he establishes his industry. And he does not care what is happening in Patna, what is happening in Dhanbad, what is happening in Jamshedpur itself. Are you going to allow this type of economy and this type of regional imbalance? Do you think that there will be no heart-burning in the people of Orissa and Assam? My friend, Shri Borooah*, is now the Petroleum Minister. I hope he will not be afraid of favouritism or nepotism charge. What has happened to the Assam oil resources? Oil and petro-chemical industries are set up in western India. Assam has been languishing at the level where it was in the time of the British.

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I do not say that there should not be mixed economy. But clearly define in what sector the public sector and the private industry will be allowed to grow. Give them enough scope to grow, but have a curtailment on their consumption, have a dividend freeze, have an income-wage policy, and try to see that the aspirations of the common man and pledges given to the people in the manifesto, in drafting which my friend, Shri Mohan Dharia, was very active and I hope he still remembers the policy plan document that was prepared in Bombay AICC of 1969, are fulfilled.

Shri D.P. Dhar gave us a document. We do not want fables; we do not want fiction. Dreams may be good for fiction. They may be good for anything. They may be good for a meditation in the valley of Kashmir or for reading stories of Arabian Nights. But it is not so in the field of economic activity. You are the pioneer, steering the economy of this country. If you do not take bold steps and steer the economy, you will not be demolishing yourself but will be demolishing the very structure of the society, the very foundation of parliamentary democracy.

@ Shri Anthony Lancelot Dias.

* Shri D.K. Borooah the then Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals.

EXPORT-IMPORT POLICY*

Sir, with your permission, I beg to move the following Resolution in the House:

> "The House is of opinion that a Committee consisting of Members of Parliament and experts should be constituted to examine the Export-Import policy of the Government and to submit a report thereon."

Sir, keeping in view the economic crisis before the country which has been a subject of repeated discussion inside as well as outside the House, I thought it necessary to motivate the House to have a proper debate on this issue here in the House. I got inspiration to move this Resolution in this House from the speech or an article of a highly responsible officer of the concerned Department in which he has mentioned the condition of our trade. He has stated as to what has been the condition of our export-import trade from First Five Year Plan to Third Five Year Plan. I will have to speak in English if I have to quote him.

> "During the First Five Year Plan, the average annual exports amounted to ₹ 606 crores against imports valued at ₹ 723 crores per annum while during the Second Five Year Plan, the respective figures stood at ₹ 609 crores and ₹ 976 crores. During the first four years of the Third Five Year Plan, the average annual exports improved to ₹ 751 crores but imports have gone up still higher to ₹ 1,177 crores. During the First Plan period, the average annual adverse trade amounted to ₹ 117.5 crores, increasing to ₹ 367.2 crores during the Second Plan period, and moving up further to ₹ 430.75 crores during the current Plan period."

This is our import-export situation. These are the words of hon'ble Minister of Commerce, Shri Manubhai Shah. This is but natural to an extent because in a developing country where we invest more money in industries, import machines from abroad, raw material is required, so imports become imperative and in a sense banning imports would amount to stalling the progress of the country. But, the question today is whether there is any possibility to have coordination between imports and exports and whether there is any possibility where we could boost our exports and reduce imports.

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* Participating in the discussion on "Constitution of a Committee of M.Ps. and experts to examine export-import policy of Government"; Rajya Sabha Debate, 26 August 1966, cc. 4318-37, (Originally in Hindi).

Sir, just after the devaluation when the policy of the Nation in this direction was announced, Madam Prime Minister said that we want our country to become self-reliant in the economic field. It was also said that the concept of *'Swadeshi'* would have to be established in the country again and as far as possible, we would have to take this country forward on the basis of self-reliance. If you look at the present situation, our annual imports stand at ₹ 1350 crore per year and exports at ₹ 800 crore approximately. There is an annual deficit of ₹ 550 crores which we have to incur to run our affairs. Besides this deficit of ₹ 550 crore, there would be an increase in it when we start repayment of our foreign debt. In the present situation, it is very difficult to bridge this gap of ₹ 550 crores.

I would not like to quote the second excerpt from the speech of hon'ble Manubhai Shah which he gave in this very House in 1962, in which he had said that whereas economic forces are at work and economic motives have an effect on the industries to a great extent, the feeling of patriotism also takes us forward. He had further said in this very House that on one hand, we would have to curtail the items of our industries and on the other hand, our traders who are engaged in export-import business would have to effect a cut in their profit margin in the larger interest of the country. But what has happened in the past years? We will have to see whether the facilities which were given by the Minister of Commerce to boost exports have been properly utilized and the expectations which he had from the traders in 1962 have been fulfilled by them?

I would not raise the issue of export of steel here which has created pandemonium in the House during the entire session. The hon'ble Minister of Commerce knows well how many crores of rupees were lost. As per the revelation made in this regard, a loss of approximately ₹ 8-10 crore has been incurred and I think it is less than 10 per cent of the total losses incurred. We do not know exactly how much loss has been incurred.

Likewise, look at other sectors also. Can we not do without imports? For instance, we have to spend foreign exchange worth ₹ 120 crore on the import of foodgrains. I think, these are the figures of the period before the depreciation of our currency. The hon'ble Minister of Commerce can work it out and explain the position after depreciation of our currency because it is not possible for us to calculate it. We must keep in mind the situation prevailing in the country during 1964-65. Approximately 88.9 million tonnes *i.e.* 89 million tonnes of foodgrains were produced in the country and we had imported 7 million tonnes. It means the requirement of the foodgrains of the country was 96 million tonnes. What is the position today? Today, as per Government estimates, total production of foodgrain is 73-74 million tonnes in the wake of the drought like situation that is prevailing in the

country and we have to import 12-14 million tonnes of foodgrains. The Government is of the opinion that 86 million tonnes of foodgrains will be sufficient for this year amidst this crisis. How is it possible? It is possible because we present a true picture of the situation before the country and ask the people to manage with this much. The country has produced 89 million tonnes of foodgrains earlier. The Food Minister boldly announces, come what may, the Government will import foodgrains even in the face of all the criticism in this regard. I do not know whether it is his self-confidence or loss of self-confidence. It has to be decided by you and the House.

Sir, I would like to submit that we have to understand that the country will become economically dependent on other countries if our dependence on import is not reduced. Whether we like it or not, depreciation of our currency has taken place whether the Minister of Commerce was in favour of it or not. But, I would like to know from you as to why the Government is not paying attention to this. As per the estimates of the industries and trade presented before us, the country imports dairy products worth ₹ 5 crore every year. What is the need for it? Whether it is essential to import dairy products? If it is so, I would like to know from the Government as to what steps have been taken to increase the production of milk and dairy products in the country.

Now, I would like to draw the attention of the Minister of Commerce to another issue. For instance, take cotton. In the previous years, before depreciation, we used to import cotton worth ₹ 60 to 90 crore every year from several African and American countries. Sir, I was having a discussion about the scheme with an officer of the Cooperative Department of Maharashtra in Bombay. I was astonished when he said that they had been producing medium-staple cotton in the State and even its consumption was increasing, but no incentive was given by the Union Government for it. Not only this, even capitalists were not ready to procure their goods. Even the mills running under price-control were not ready to purchase their goods. What kind of a situation is it? Now, as per the new policy about cotton that has been mentioned by hon'ble Minister, cotton worth ₹ 150 crore will be imported annually. I would like to know whether the Government of India has ever paid ₹ 150 crore to the farmers to increase their production. It will be argued that under the international trade, both the export and import obligations have to be met. I agree with it but cannot we reduce our import of cotton made under PL 480 from America. Secondly, it is said that we do not produce long-staple cotton while we have some such mills in the country which can only use long-staple cotton. Very humbly, I would like to draw the attention of the hon'ble Minister of Commerce towards the fact that these machines using long-staple cotton have been installed during

the last 10-15 years. Firstly, foreign exchange was spent on purchasing these machines and now even more foreign exchange is being given to foreign countries for purchasing long-staple cotton. I fail to understand as to what kind of policy is it after all. It could have been understandable if long-staple cotton had been used for producing export quality cloth, but as per the Ministry of Commerce figures, only 3-4 per cent of the cloth made from long-staple cotton had been exported. We market medium and coarse quality cloth abroad and medium staple cotton being cultivated in India is quite useful for producing it. I have enquired from the senior officers of the Ministry of Commerce as to why cotton production is low. They replied that, I better raise it to the Ministry of Food because ensuring higher production of cotton is not the job of the Ministry of Commerce but that of the Ministry of Food. When the country is facing such grave economic crisis and it is a do or die situation for the country, then the situation demands sacrifice from every individual. I fail to understand why the Ministry of Commerce and the Ministry of Agriculture don't coordinate to formulate such schemes.

I would also like to raise the issue of artificial silk which has already been raised in the House. Our Minister of Commerce has stated that certain things are important because it involves the question of machines and also the manpower engaged in it. How many workers are engaged and how much money we are spending on them? If we look at the figures of last six years, we have an adverse balance of trade of ₹ 14 crore. In case of artificial silk alone and we have suffered a loss of ₹ 14 crore in the form of difference between the value of artificial, silk yarn imported and the silk cloth exported by the country in these six years. Not only this, the incentives we have given for it is not a part of this figure. Leave those incentives apart, we provided incentives to traders, funded them and how they have misutilised those. It is a very sorry state of affairs. There can be nothing more anguishing and insulting for the citizens of this country than this. The very people, who had been provided with funds misutilised it. They caused loss to the exchequer in exports to the tune of ₹ 5 and a half crore. Not only this, the amount of ₹ 1.5 crore, which they had deposited as guarantee money in the banks was not impounded by the Ministry of Commerce and was waived off. What is most unfortunate and which is in the knowledge of the hon'ble Minister of Commerce that the matter was not investigated for three long years and the file pertaining to the transaction worth ₹ 1.5 crore disappeared from the Ministry of Commerce—even when the Audit had raised objections on it and the matter was under the deliberation of the Public Accounts Committee. The more distressing point is that hon'ble Minister of Commerce was not informed about it and no FIR was lodged, nor was it brought to anybody's notice. The matter got into limelight when the Public Accounts Committee sought the file from the

Ministry of Commerce. I congratulate the hon'ble Minister of Commerce for initiating an enquiry into this. With due respect, I would like to ask the Minister as to how the Government officers are running the Ministry which is entrusted with the task of overseeing the export and import of this country. Sometimes, the cascading effect of corruption sends us into depression. I don't want to go into details. It is my personal experience that whenever a Member raises questions with regard to the conduct of any corrupt officer in this House it becomes difficult for us to move inside and outside the House and talk. I would like to congratulate the hon'ble Minister for the splendid job he has done, but I would like to know the names of the people who are responsible for putting hurdles in the way of export worth ₹ 5 and a half crore. Who are those people who were supposed to pay the penalty of ₹ 1.5 crore but were spared and the file went missing. I am of the firm belief that the hon'ble Minister of Commerce would very soon disclose before the House and the country the names of the people involved in it.

You can take up the case of petroleum. We import petroleum worth ₹ 90 crore every year, as it is very important for our economic development. It is also important because some factories which run with the advanced machines need petroleum. But is it not possible that we set up factories in our country which run with coal, as the production of petroleum is very less in our country whereas coal is in surplus. When this can be done in USSR and China, why can we not do it in India. Why do we compete with those countries that have plenty of petroleum and do not face any difficulty as far as their resources are concerned? Though I am not an expert in these matters, but I believe that if we put in sufficient efforts, we could have reduced the import from ₹ 90 crore to ₹ 45 or ₹ 50 crore. I would not like to discuss every item which has been listed here. We are spending ₹ 45-50 lakh on cosmetics. Why this amount is being spent? We may say that a poor country like ours does not need merchandised cloth. Every one should wear coarse cloth. When people like Shri Manubhai Shah are in the Cabinet, we have more expectations. He has lived his whole life with Gandhiji's spinning wheel and he has been its great propagator. Then why does not such a thing happen?

Let us take another point on which much hue and cry has been raised in the entire country. Every year foreign countries provide us a sum of ₹ 40 crore for importing fertilizers. A number of factories can be set up with this sum, but they do not provide us funds for setting up factories. May be there is some great economic principle behind it and our planning minister and food minister do not feel the burden while executing the same. However, I have not been able to understand and comprehend as to why we are taking such a huge load on our head. Has any assessment been made as to how much royalty they would take away from this country?

My temerity be excused when I say that all the agricultural policies are framed and formulated in the air-conditioned rooms of Krishi Bhavan. Those engaged in this job are not able to understand as to what are the requirements of Indian farmer. If you cast a look at the whole gamut of agricultural sector, then you would realize that today majority of the farmers want water for irrigation. There are no funds for creating small irrigation systems, but funds to the tune of crores of rupees are being borrowed to set up a fertilizer plant. Since this issue has been discussed and debated in detail, therefore, I would not like to discuss it further. I would like to say only this much that such plants should be stopped and as far as possible, it should be ensured that funds are optimally utilized.

I would like to invite the attention of hon'ble Commerce Minister to the import of finished goods in the country. Is it not possible to import raw material, set up factories here? We should strive to create an atmosphere in the country to become self-reliant. But today, this is not happening. Today it is a mad race in the country to import more and more goods from abroad.

I would like to make one more point in this regard. It is repeatedly stated that if certain essential commodities are not imported, then there would be a great crisis in the country and our democracy may be in peril. I feel greatly pained and sad to hear our Ministers saying that if we want to maintain our democratic set up, then it is necessary to accept help from outside and import goods. I would like our Commerce Minister to remember that prior to 1947 there was abject poverty in our country but not one or two but millions of people had burnt the foreign clothes and had resolved to put at stake everything they had for the sake of country's independence. If the people of this country were prepared to sacrifice all for the freedom of the Nation then I believe that the same people are still prepared to sacrifice everything for the sake of our democratic set up and our independence and self reliance. But to achieve this objective there should be a proper environment and this environment ought to be created by the Commerce Minister or the Government of India.

I regret to say that very little has been done not only in the sector of industry and trade but in other sectors as well. After a while, I would like to draw your attention towards this, but right now I would like to submit that after the devaluation of rupee — the Minister of Commerce may forgive me — I had asked him as to what extent country's exports would increase due to this move. I tried to understand it — he said that it would increase in the long term. I asked the Minister of Commerce what does he mean by long term? He did not give any reply and I don't have any answer to it till today. After the devaluation as things stand today, exports are not

going to increase in the near future, say in six months or in one or two years. Those who think that exports would increase, are under illusion. Hon'ble Minister of Commerce knows that exports have further decreased in the last three months after devaluation. Exports have come down. Not only this, it has come down in terms of the dollar, the ruble and the rupee. The Minister of Commerce took pains and signed agreements with East European countries and Russia, but in spite of it, the Governments and traders there, are not interested in acting in accordance with these agreements. We have loads of consignments with us. The solution to the problems which have cropped up after devaluation is not in sight in near future. It was said at the time of devaluation that the cash incentive is given and financial assistance is provided to promote exports which means that the value of our rupee in the international market is not as much as it should have been and it was said that there would be no need to provide cash incentive now. But just a few days ago — if I am wrong, the Minister of Commerce may correct me — the policy which he has announced for providing incentives would put a minimum burden of ₹ 30 crore on our budget. Ultimately, how much it is going to be beneficial will be seen in the coming time. At the most, it is possible that our exports may remain at ₹ 800 crore as it was before, but I think and I am afraid that perhaps the export may come down to ₹ 700 crore or ₹ 750 crore and we may find ourselves in more difficult situation. Then what should I make out. If the people who told him that in the backdrop of devaluation, cash incentive had become necessary, then whether this record incentive being offered would be the platform for a second devaluation. It is a very disappointing situation. I do not want to go into the finer details of the devaluation, it has already created a different kind of controversy. But I wish to tell the Hon'ble Minister of Commerce that the merits and demerits of devaluation are now before us and if restraint and discipline is not brought in this economic policy, it would not be correct. In the past, we could tolerate indiscipline but now it is impossible for us to run the country with indiscipline. In the past, the Government of India could have deviated a little bit. We could have tolerated the false promises of exports, but today, the entire country is on the brink of such an abyss that a minor lapse will suffice to push it into the catastrophe and dark clouds of uncertainty will loom large on our heads and also on the coming generations in such a way that we may ourselves crumble under the burden of the cardinal sin that we have committed.

I would like to tell one more thing to you. Recently, with regard to export, I had said that around 83 per cent of our traditional goods are such for which we don't need to give any incentive and we can compete with other countries in the international market. Further, I would say that not only the Minister of Commerce has said that we can compete with other countries but also the Indian Chamber of Commerce, after depreciation, in the paper circulated on 26th June, has stated in this regard that:

"It is however not correct to say that the prices of all our exports are such as to make them uncompetitive in the world market. Only 17 per cent of our exports require direct assistance from the Government but the remaining 83 per cent of exports successfully compete in the world market without any subsidy from the Government."

83 per cent of our goods were such which could compete with goods manufactured by other countries even without subsidy and despite that depreciation continued. Although there were some economic reasons. The Minister of Commerce and his Government might be knowing it, atleast I fail to understand this. Madam Deputy Chairperson, second thing which I would like to say is that today the situation is critical and in such a situation we have to pay attention to one thing. I had already given indication in brief about the import-export trade, and I would also like to ask as to how we can utilize the foreign currency. It is another aspect about which I would not like to go into the details. However, I would like to mention one thing to the Minister of Commerce about the Metal Scrap Trading Corporation. What is the purpose of setting up this corporation? As per my knowledge, there are 12 traders dealing in scrap exports and 6 of them have been appointed as members of this corporation whereas 3 members are Directors and the Chairman of this corporation. Now the question is who is the Managing Director. I am sorry to say this but he is the same person, who was once the Director, Trade in the Hindustan Steel Limited and about whom the Public Undertakings Committee stated that he had not handled the deal regarding pipes properly. After leaving the Hindustan Steel Limited, he joined the Metal Scrap Trading Corporation as its Chairman. You have also empowered this corporation by making a provision that from now onwards the total scrap will be exported through it. Had the Government kept this under its control? It would have been logical but by delegating all the powers to 6 exporters and depriving others is something which I fail to understand as to what sort of policy and benefit the Government is contemplating in this regard.

I would like to remind you and request you to re-consider your Notification No. B&D/9/PD-66/67 (Scrap) dated 28-4-66, about which I am mentioning here. I feel that it is not proper from legal point of view also. I think it would be proper if the Government takes the control of trade and it would be improper on the part of the Government to give control of trade in the hands of few. In this connection, I would also like to mention that it is not proper to handover the equalization fund to the traders which is being taken from the cotton users while importing cotton. Similarly, same procedure is followed in Iron and Steel as well. I will not go into the details. I think still I have 3, 4 or 5 minutes time to speak.

Madam, in this connection my submission is that perhaps the hon'ble Minister might say that it is also not under his charge, just now the Minister of Finance was present here. After all, how foreign currency is being utilized. I would like to draw your attention and the attention of the House towards a fact only then you can imagine how major deals are implemented in our country without our knowledge.

I was saying that in the 43rd report of the Public Accounts Committee about the Post and Telegraph, there is a mention about an agreement. The House will be surprised to know that in 1949, we had signed an agreement with a company based in England called the Standard Telephone and Cables Limited. The agreement was for 20 years. As per this agreement, the company was to assist our experts in setting up a company in Bengal and in return we had decided that we would give the company 6 per cent of whatever we produce as royalty. Secondly, it was said that up to 20 years *i.e.* till 1969, we would be bound to purchase 25 per cent of total requirement of Telephone cables from this company at the price fixed by the company which will be deposited at British Post Offices later on. During the last 17 years *i.e.* from 1949 to 1966 and then up to 1969, the price at which we were buying cables from this company is almost double the international price. We cannot do anything because as per the agreement signed with this company it is never said that we can ever revise this agreement in 20 years. Not only this, there is also a clause in this agreement that we cannot set up any such factory in our country without the permission of this cable factory. I don't want to name that person who has signed this agreement. He called himself a big socialist leader of India and was the High Commissioner of England at that time. So far we had given more than 35 lakh rupees as royalty and several crore rupees extra as foreign exchange. Neither the Post Office nor the State Trading Corporation or the Indian Embassy in England have any account in this regard.

Madam, Now I would like to draw your attention to another issue. It has been mentioned that there is one hon'ble Ganju Saheb in the Ministry of External Affairs who was posted in Washington. He was removed from the Ministry. Subsequently, the Ministry of Finance rehabilitated and deputed him there. In this capacity, the Ministry bore his annual expenses of ₹ 30,000 as part of his salary.

An amount of one lakh dollars was demanded from the Ministry of Finance for the next year. There is a need to probe the matter. After all, who is this high profile personality without whom the country may not function, who draws a monthly pay of nearly ₹ 62,500 and apart from this, the Ministry of Finance is also bearing the expenses of his stay in a foreign country. It does not behove the Government to beg for foreign exchange

on the one hand and go in for wastage of so much amount on the other. I would like to humbly request the hon'ble Minister of Commerce to please draw the attention of the Government towards the facts. The Government has entered into tens of agreements during the last fifteen years by dint of which foreign exchange worth crores of rupees is being wasted in foreign countries. Keeping in view of the precarious post devaluation situation, I had proposed that the Government should constitute a Committee of experts and the Members of Parliament which may look into the matter and suggest to the Ministry of Commerce to take all necessary steps to improve the deteriorating condition of the country.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT: POLICY AND PLANNING*

Mr. Vice-Chairman, my work has been facilitated by the hon'ble Shri Bhupesh Gupta who has given the statistics about the development or expansion of the Birla empire. I shall like to take up this question in its broader perspective. I shall request the House and also the Government to take up this matter more deeply. We should go to the root because every economic development and the development of every society has a process of its own. Economic development has its own discipline and this discipline cannot be altered by simple, pious wishes. If we give certain monopolists, free hand to amass enormous wealth, if we give them certain facilities, their empire will expand; it is not crime of Birlas alone. It is not crime of one individual or the other. It is the crime of the system itself. But Birlas have been singled out since they were unrivalled in overriding other individuals who were in competition in this field.

When they were framing the Constitution for the Indian Republic, the framers of the Constitution were conscious of this development and so, in the Constitution itself, in article 39(b) and (c), the Constitution makers have provided for this:

"The State shall in particular, direct its policy towards securing—

(b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good;

(c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;".

As I said, this was mentioned in the Constitution itself. Then in 1956 the Government of India adopted the Industrial Policy Resolution. The hon'ble Minister for Industrial Development quoted the Industrial Policy Resolution's objective and the third objective says that every step will be taken to see that there is no concentration of wealth and that there is no concentration of economic power in the hands of any individual. But Madam Deputy Chairperson, it is a matter of pity and of course of shame that in spite of these decisions we could not check certain people from subverting the very

* Participating in the Motion regarding Interim Report on Industrial Planning and Licensing Policy, Rajya Sabha Debate, 29 May 1967, cc. 1065-1083

spirit of the Constitution the very intentions of the Constitution-makers, and of the Government of India. It was not I nor Shri Bhupesh Gupta; it was the then Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru; it was, I think on August 22, 1960, that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said in the other House somewhat like this. "I am surprised where the wealth goes. There is development in the country but there are the people in this country who are not benefiting by it. I am surprised really where all this development goes." And Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru while moving the Third Five-Year Plan said in his speech that a committee should be appointed to go into the details of this unhealthy development and to curb this tendency the Mahalanobis Committee was appointed. This committee was appointed some time—if I remember correctively—in October, 1960. And a time limit was given to this committee. Madam Deputy Chairperson, you will be surprised to know how this committee could not get certain information although they tried to get it. I shall not go into the quotations because I have not much time. The Monopolies Commission in its report has said that they wanted some information from the Central Statistical Organisation but that the Organisation said that the information could not be given only because certain individual capitalists would take it ill and say that according to their Fundamental Rights this information should not be disclosed. Then this committee approached the Government of India and said that they should change the law, but that the Government of India did not change the law and only said that the committee should make a demand for it. Nothing happened and the committee could not get the reports, they wanted. The Monopolies Commission also could not get the reports. This Commission also has said that they could not gather enough materials, enough statistics, for a thorough probe. On the recommendation of the Mahalanobis Committee, the Monopolies Commission was appointed. This Commission was appointed in April, 1964, and it was said that this Commission should give its report by 31 October, 1965. For six or seven months—it is in the report of the Commission; it is with me—they could not get the staff. After that they could not get the necessary information from the Government Departments. They invoked the help of the Central Statistical Organisation for materials, but they claimed the privilege that they could not disclose the figures, that they could not give them to the Monopolies Commission. The same was the case with the Directorate-General of Technical Development and they said that they did not have comprehensive figures and so it was not possible for them to say that their figures were totally reliable. Some of my friends, who tried to justify Birlas' action have been trying again and again to say that there have been discrepancies between the reports of the Mahalanobis Committee, the Monopolies Commission and the Hazari Committee. But this Commission itself has said that they were not sure whether a particular individual belonged to Birlas or not because of benami transactions, and so they have

not mentioned about or included those persons in their report. They have never said that they were not Birlas' benamdars. They have mentioned that the problem of benamis was a great problem before the country. They have also said that as they had no statistics, as they had no approach to them, they had no information, so they have said that it was not possible for them to trace these benamdar. Dr. Hazari has been able to trace some of them. I do not want to go into individuals' names but I have also certain information that there are many more benamdars who are not included in the Hazari Committee's report also. But the Monopolies Commission itself has said that they had not dealt with those people who were benamis and whom they could not prove as such. Madam Deputy Chairperson, what I want to indicate is the enormity of the problem and how the discrepancies varied in the three various reports, the hon'ble Member, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, has mentioned. Madam Deputy Chairperson, I shall like to mention one thing and it is this. When Dr. P.S. Lokanathan, the great economist, appeared before this committee, he said somewhat like this. "You can have your policy Resolution"—I am not quoting him; I am just giving you the gist of what he said. Now he said like this. "You can have your Policy Resolution, but if they get the economic power in their hands, the tendency is always to concentrate more and more economic power in their hands." The Commission has again said on the following lines. As we have not gone into the details of this aspect we are not going to give our comments upon the observations of Dr. Lokanathan. This Monopolies Commission report is limited, not limited according to my opinion; it is limited according to the opinion and suggestions and assertions made by the Commission itself. This is the problem and this is the situation in which we are dealing with this Hazari Committee's report.

Now Madam, I come to the Hazari Report. What does this report indicate? It is not a question whether 299 licence were given to a particular individual or to a particular group of industrialists. The question is how this particular group is trying to dominate the whole political and economic life of the country. This Hazari Report has stated that this particular group has spread its tentacles in all fields of industrial production. I will quote from the Report itself where in paragraph 10.6 it is stated:

> "The large number of Birla proposals and the amount of investment contemplated therein are diffused over the entire industrial structure. Except basis steel and power generation, almost every kind of industrial product capable of domestic manufacture is covered in the Birla perspective plan. There is evidence of interest in new and rapidly growing industries, particularly, aluminium, electrical goods, chemicals, cement, manmade fibres and yarn, heavy engineering, alloy steel, pig iron, tools, timber products, newsprint and pipes and tubes but

traditional industries like cotton, sugar, vanaspati and paper are by no means ignored."

This is a quotation from the Hazari Report. Some hon'ble friends have been trying to create an impression in the country that this group has done great service to the country because they have entered into all fields of our economic life. Madam, Deputy Chairperson, only on one occasion did the Government go against this and that was when the Government of India in its wisdom did not allow the Birla group to establish a steel plant of their own. But the Birlas did not take this lying down. They told the Nation and they tried to indicate to the country and this Parliament and the whole Indian Nation that this group was more powerful than the 45 crores of people in this country. Certain friends who praise this group are, I submit out to disgrace the Indian Nation, out to disgrace this Parliamentary institution. I am not saying something from my imagination. It was the Steel Minister who sometime back in Lok Sabha when the Bokaro project was facing some difficulties said there was a lobby in India and there was a lobby in the USA trying to scuttle the whole project. Here I shall quote not from any Communist paper nor from any fellow-traveller as some people like to refer to me.

Here is a report from an economist—Shri Rangnekar of the 'Economic Times' has this to say. Again this is published by an institute—The National Institute of Public Affairs. There Shri Rangnekar under the heading "Indian End of U.S. Lobby" write this:

"In the dirty game of scuttling Bokaro, a leading Indian business house is known to have played a rather sinister role. Having failed in its bid to persuade the Nehru Government to sanction its own steel project, it manoeuvred a tie-up with the steel lobby in Washington. This Indian house is believed to have master-minded some of the consortium and other proposals supposedly mooted by the American interests. When the going became hard, it managed to help the Kennedy Administration in stalling. These deplorable moves enjoyed marked advantage in the American political scene with its natural hostility to State enterprise and anything smacking of socialism."

This is a quotation from this Report. I want lovers of the Birlas, I want all those who admire the Birlas and who want to give them a clean chit and a certificate of service to the country, to tell me if this is service of the country. Is this service of the Nation? And then I very humbly ask the Government what have they done when there has been this statement of the Steel Minister and when there has been such a statement as this one from a responsible person in our social life? What steps have the Government taken in this matter? I hope that the Government cannot deny this allegation

that the Birlas are trying to influence our economy. Are they not going to give heed when this is their attitude? Madam Deputy Chairperson, it is for this hon'ble House to decide whether one big business house will be allowed these tactics. This is not all. They are trying to influence the whole political life of this country. Again I shall quote from the Hazari Committee Report. They have said that the Birla's interests are practically in all the States, from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and from Gujarat to Assam. Everywhere the Birlas are there except perhaps in the State of my hon'ble friend Shri Reddy, but there also they have purchased two interests, namely, a cement industry and the machine-tool industry. Do you think that this is without any design? There is a sinister design, Madam Deputy Chairperson in this also. Seeing that the States are going to influence the Centre, the Birlas have become wiser and they are trying to catch hold of the Chief Ministers of States and they are trying to influence the State Legislatures. I know that at the Centre it was a little difficult for them because of the towering personalities who are guiding the destinies of the Nation up till now. But now in the States it was possible. I am sorry, my hon'ble friend Shri Bhupesh Gupta tried to introduce some politics in this matter. But I may say that this matter of the Birlas cuts across all barriers of politics, all barriers of political ideologies because the Birlas are trying to influence Parliament and the whole country through the press and through the politicians. It is said that their greatest achievements are the aluminium plant in Uttar Pradesh and the rayon pulp plant in Kerala. But Madam Deputy Chairperson, if you go into the history of these two plants, namely the aluminium plant in U.P. and the rayon plant in Kerala, you will find that the U.P. Aluminium plant has been severely criticised by the Public Accounts Committee of the Uttar Pradesh Legislature. There was a Congress Government. The whole Rihand project which was envisaged for the rural areas of eastern U.P. for the starving people of those areas was utilized to give power to the Birlas for a nominal price and .....

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Yes, that is why I said it was given at a nominal price. And then what happened in Kerala? Madam Deputy Chairperson, I may tell you that a worse agreement was never entered into in the whole history of mankind because the Birlas quoted that they would purchase bamboo at Rs. 2.80 per tonne and the agreement was entered into for a rate of Rs. 1/- per tonne. This is the agreement entered into by the Communist Government of Kerala presided over by Shri Namboodiripad. This agreement is here.

I am not going into details and I Do not want to say anything unless I have got a *prime facie* case based on documents. Here are the Reports of the Public Accounts Committee. Madam Deputy Chairperson, I would

request you to give me a little more time. I shall try to limit myself within the time given to me. I am not going into the details of this Report. The Public Accounts Committee of Parliament went to Kerala and I was a Member of that Committee and they went into matter because at that time the Kerala Legislature was not functioning. The whole Agreement was discussed and reproduced in these two reports of the Public Accounts Committee. This is the Second Volume of the 47th Report of the Public Accounts Committee. So this is how I say that Birlas have got tremendous capacity to get their interests served from anybody. They can easily do that I do not know what their tactics are, what their method of operation is, but it is true, Madam, they are influencing all the State legislatures and this tendency should be curbed in the beginning.

Madam Deputy Chairperson—I can understand if it is said that some licenses were given but I would request the hon'ble Minister to go into any licence which has been given to Birlas and it will be found that licence has been given only because they have been able to outwit, out-manoeuvre, not only the competitors but also the Government officials and the Government machinery. Madam, I shall have to mention a few more points in this connection.

Madam, the other question is about foreign exchange. There is another plea given by certain people that Birlas have reduced the foreign exchange component in their undertakings but you should see in the beginning what the position was. In the beginning their foreign exchange components were about 80 per cent. When foreign exchange was easily available, Birlas were getting the highest amount in the country. I want to know from the hon'ble Minister how much foreign exchange was granted to them. Moreover, is it not a fact that 12 companies are run by Birlas outside India? And two of these companies, one in London—The Eastern India Produce Ltd.—and the other in New York—The Eastern India Produce, New York—are only doing the work of overinvoicing and underinvoicing for the Birlas. Is it not a fact that the Enforcement Directorate of the Government of India has not information about these two companies? In spite of all these failings nothing is being done why? What is the reason? The Government should look into this. If they can manipulate, if they can manage to get foreign exchange against all the rules and procedures, against all the provisions of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, what can the other competitors do?

Madam Deputy Chairperson, I shall like to give you another example and I shall try to make my observations quite brief in this connection. The hon'ble Minister has just said that public undertakings have grown up fast and are growing still but what has been the behaviour of certain people towards these public undertakings in comparison to the Birlas? I give you

one example. There is or was—I do not know if it has changed hands—a factory called the Jessops. Previously it belonged to the Mundhras but now the Government of India has dominating control over it. Jessops had quoted for the construction of the Sone Barrage Gates in Bihar. There was a global tender and no company of the Birlas submitted any tender. It was in 1964 that I raised this matter in this House. I wrote letters to the then Minister of Irrigation and Power and the copies are with me here. I said that Jessops was a Government undertaking, its tender was low and its demand for foreign exchange was much lower. According to my information, Jessops were demanding only Rs. 2,50,000 while Birlas who got the work were demanding Rs. 40 lakhs in foreign exchange. Texmaco is the company of Birlas but Texmaco did not submit any tender. There was an Austrian firm known as Voist and this Voist had sent a tender. There was a letter from Voist saying that Texmaco was their collaborator in India. This Voist with its collaborator was constructing the Rihand and Bhakra-Nangal projects. On the basis of that letter this Texmaco was given the order for the construction of the Sone Barrage Gates against the claims of Jessops which was a Government undertaking. And what happened? After two years the Birlas said that they cannot construct the Sone Barrage Gates because they were not being allowed to import steel from Japan. Only last year a team from the Central Water and Power Commission went to Bihar. They examined the whole thing and came to the conclusion that foreign imported steel was not at all necessary and that the quotation of was Jessops correct. I do not know what amount we have lost in foreign exchange in providing certain facilities to the Birlas but the greater crime is that the whole Sone Barrage project is delayed by two years, and we are facing this starvation situation in Bihar today. These people who are out to play with the lives of humanity are said to be the protectors and guardians of our Indian economy.

Madam Deputy Chairperson, I shall like to draw your attention and the attention of the House to another aspect. With licensing is related the question of getting possession or purchasing of other industrial undertaking. Certain people will murmur how this is related to the Hazari Committee Report. Now the whole licensing policy was envisaged only in order to have a regional balance in our economic development and to see that there is no concentration of economic power. But the Birlas are adopting another method. They do not require a licence; they try to purchase the small entrepreneurs' undertakings. Recently also, it has happened. The Indian Steam Ship Co. wanted to change hands. There were three possible purchasers. Because that company had taken a big loan from the Government of India, under the Company Law regulations it was necessary for that company to come to the Government for permission and the Shipping and Transport Ministry, according to my information, has given preference to the Birlas ignoring others. Not only that, I hope I am not revealing any big

secret but I want to know from the Government as to what happened to the Ratnakar Shipping the undertaking which was taken by Birlas. This Ratnakar Shipping business is more serious than even that of Mr. Dharma Teja. In this crores of rupees of the Government of India are involved and Birlas are the criminals. I will give you another case. In November 1964 certain officers of the Enforcement Directorate went to Texmaco and seized certain incriminating documents and ordered the arrest of one of the members of the Birla family. What has happened to those papers? I have been told recently that an enquiry is still going on. They are not only manipulating the licensing policy, they are not only manipulating the economic policies of the Government of India but they are also trying to resort to heinous crimes in order to see that their development does not suffer.

Madam, I would like to draw your attention to another aspect. They have got a big banking interest and their industries are financed by it. I want to know from the hon'ble Minister how the small industries without any assets get big licences and how those licences are financed. Mundhra will be ashamed of his performance when compared with that of Birlas. According to my information 75 companies are there which have no assets, which have no capital but they all survive. That is my information; I may be wrong but I hope the hon'ble Minister will give the correct figures and during the last two years the Government of India has given ₹ 85 crores as loan to these industries. Not only that, from the private banking sources the Punjab National Bank, the United Commercial Bank and other banking institutions, they have taken accommodation worth ₹ 125 crores. So I say that these banking institutions and Government institutions are serving the cause of Birlas. Government gives them loans at 3 to 4 per cent, while the medium industries get loans at 5 to 8 per cent. Why this concession? The Government will have to explain its position. It is not so simple to say that Dr. Hazari has indicated certain things and certain people come and say that they have done a very good service to the country. I will not go into the details, but I shall try to say a few words about the automobile industry. Why is not the small car coming up? It is only because of the influence of Birlas that it is not coming up. Not only that. I would request the Government to go into the working of the Hindustan Motors. Very recently they manipulated an import licence. They substituted certain spare parts which were not in the import licence and imported those spare parts. The matter is with the SPE and they have given a report. But what is happening is that some petty officials are being prosecuted for that not these Birlas. I do not want to name them. Some big officers of the Government of India are there to see that the whole thing is scuttled. This Report should be considered in this perspective. Only three or four times the Government of India had made small enquiries into the affairs of Birlas. The first time it was in

1946. The Government of India in 1948 appointed an Income-tax Investigation Commission and they came to the conclusion that between 1945-46, Birlas had evaded ₹ 12 crores as taxes. They went to the Supreme Court and after that the Income-tax Officer said that this figure came to ₹ 12 crores. Birlas compromised with Government of India by paying something. I raised this question here. I am reminded of the glorious memory of the late Feroz Gandhi, when he raised the matter of the Ruby and New Asiatic Insurance Companies.

I can say that this matter of the Ruby Insurance Company and the New Asiatic Insurance Company was given to the auditors appointed by this Government and I am not disclosing any secret documents. It is there in the library and it was laid on the Table of the other House. I would read only two or three lines from both the reports. The report on the New Asiatic Insurance Company says this. It is the report of auditors and it is not my report:

> "In concluding our report we observe that there was a regular conspiracy amongst the staff and officers of the Head Office and Branches of the New Asiatic Insurance Co. Ltd., to falsify the books of accounts systematically and manipulating profits from year to year for the purpose of showing a rosy picture before the shareholders as well as the public. The *modus operandi* adopted by the company in falsifying the books of accounts in several cases is such that it could not be detected in normal course of checking."

The other report about Ruby Insurance says:—

> "That the Company has wilfully manipulated and falsified the books of accounts from year to year both in Life as well as in General Department and the Revenue Account and Balance Sheet for these years do not represent a true and correct state of affairs of the Company."

I only quote these two paragraphs. I am not going into the reports of Income-tax Officers.

The third point which I want to say is this. For the last three years we have introduced this system of revenue audit. Every time the worthy Auditor-General's staff go to check a particular company.

Under this revenue audit they have a random sampling and only ten per cent is audited. In the whole of it one per cent or 0.5 per cent may be about Birlas. But every year, for the last three years, whenever a Birla company comes up, there is some discrepancy in the assessment. I have got the figures for three or four years but I am not going into the details. I have passed on the copies to the Industries Minister. In regard to whatever I am

saying, I have passed on all the papers to the Government of India to look into them. In the field of textiles, I had given them a memorandum one month back to the hon'ble Deputy Prime Minister and enquiry is going on. I have got the samples. I have got the pages of Birlas' register, where they have instructed their officers how to manipulate the excise duty, so that they will have to pay less and how to raise the controlled price. I have here five specimens or samples of Birlas' textiles where they have given wrong specifications by which they have evaded 4 Paisa of excise duty per metre and have increased the controlled price of the cloth by 8 paisa per metre.

I shall not lay it on the Table only because the Government are going into the matter. I am not going into the details of the company. I have here a twenty pages memorandum. I have submitted it to the Government of India. When I raise this question, I raise it only with the request to see how one particular group of industries can evade all rules and regulations passed by this Government by his Parliament, how one group of industries can win over all the officers of the Government of India. This is a serious but unfortunate, matter. For the last fifteen years people have been raising their solitary voice once or twice. Unfortunately, Feroz Gandhi is not here, to their good luck. He died soon after raising the New Asiatic and Ruby Insurance Companies' affairs. I challenge any supporter of Birlas. Let there be one factory of Birlas investigated and there will be all kinds of crimes resorted to. Not even a single company of Birlas is there where all kinds of manipulations are not taking place. Under these circumstances these simple references are not enough. Howsoever strict the Government of India may be, unless and until there is a structural change in the whole system, it will not be possible for the economy to improve and as long as banking institutions are in private hands, as long as banks can be manipulated by Birlas, you cannot check their malpractices, but within the limitations the Government of India should be ready to appoint a High Power Committee. My friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, says something like the Vivian Bose Committee, but I would suggest to you that it may be a Parliamentary Committee, assisted by this House and that Committee can go into all the affairs of Birla. Why not Parliament look into this case? How has this individual been able to hoodwink the whole Government of India, not only the Government but the whole Nation?

Madam Deputy Chairperson in this connection I shall request the Government not to feel shy of appointing a High Power Committee specially to go into the details of Birla's manipulations and manoeuvres and they should also be ready to take certain steps, far reaching steps, consistent with our socialist goal, so that these credit institutions which are in the hands of private business today are taken by the community and they are not allowed to take advantage of the toil and sweat of the teaming millions

of this country. I hope, Madam, I have been able to impress upon the Government that they will take the severest measures after going into the details and also see what are the loop-holes because of which, in spite of our Constitution and the directive of the Industrial Policy Resolution and in spite of all the recommendations of all these Committees, we could not march towards socialism. Birlas are the greatest menace to the country. In the last session of Parliament, I had said in this House that one gentleman, one Member of the other House, the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, Shri Morarka, was not allowed to enter this Parliament only because he was performing his duty honestly and he was trying to go into the cases of Birlas. Are we going to tolerate this? If this Parliament tolerates these manipulations, these dictates of Birlas. I say very humbly with all regard for this august House that life will not be worth living here as a Member of Parliament if one single individual can dictate terms not only to Parliament Members individually but to the Nation as a whole; and if we do not accede to his demand, he goes to America, he goes to London, to all countries and tries to scuttle our Plan and tries to cut at the very root of our industrial development. With these words, I conclude.

INDUSTRIAL POLICY AND NATIONALIZATION*

Deputy Chairman, Sir, not going into philosophical aspects of the issue, I would like to express my views only on today's question. First of all, I would like to make it clear that so far as the reference of industrial policy resolution made by hon'ble Shri Tribhuvan Narayan Singhji is concerned, I feel that he wanted to emphasize the fact that there was nothing wrong with the said resolution and it has become some sort of a benchmark for the country forever which would guide us as to which way the country has to move forward...

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...But, Sir, after we had passed the said resolution, there remained several shortcomings in it and today we are facing the consequences thereof. He mentioned about Schedule 'A' and Schedule 'B' industries. All industries in Schedule 'A' will be included in the public sector, these industries are capital intensive industries and will have longer gestation period. The production/manufacturing of such industries are basically to support and assist the private sector. The manufacturing of consumable items has been left to private sector and consequently the private sector has been earning profit constantly and the public sector industries, which have been set up with huge capital investments, are working tirelessly for providing resources to the private sector industries. This irony has been prevailing in our society. It is not that today we are pondering over it. My friend Shri Raj Narayanji talks a lot about Marx, Trotsky and Lenin and several other aspects. But, he forgets that this issue has not come up just today. In the Congress Session held in Bhuvaneshwar, Congress had realized this mistake and the party had said that the public sector should also manufacture consumer goods. Even at that time, I had said that agro-based industries, especially rice mills and other related industries should be nationalized. I think this is a delayed decision. I beg to disagree with Shri Ajit Prasad Jainji that the situation has changed during the last 15 years and at that time nationalization was not necessary but today it has become necessary.

I would like to tell hon'ble Ajit Prasad Jain that today social powers have changed. Their perspectives have changed. Those who talked of

* Participating in the Short Duration discussion, Rajya Sabha Debate, 9 December 1969, *cc*. 3609-17 (Originally in Hindi)

socialism had to quit the Congress Party in 1948, 1949 but in 1969, one had to put oneself as a socialist in order to remain in Congress. This is the compulsion. Such types of changes have ushered in the society. Sir, no other change has come. Sugar mills started coming up in the country during 1930-1935. Nearly 65-67 sugar mills were set up in Uttar Pradesh. They earned huge profit. My friend Shri Sitaram Jaipuriaji is not present here. He had quoted something from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.....

I would like to quote something else.

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Shri Jawaharlal Nehru had stated that a revolution is brewing in the huts of our villages and it may spread all over the country and our society will crumble if we fail to provide amenities to rural people. Just now hon'ble Shri Jaipuriaji has stated that there is a provision of punitive action but no such action has been taken and the provisions prevailing in Bengal cannot be enforced in Uttar Pradesh. I am not threatening but I would like to warn Shri Jaipuriaji and the people of similar ideology asking why it is being done in Bengal. Have you ever thought over it? You exploited the labourers in the name of law and in the name of maintaining peace for 20-22 years, you allured them assuring that the jute mills and cotton mills would be nationalized. I would say that neither Shri Jaipuriaji nor our friend Shri C.D. Pandey nor Bhai Mahavirji would be able to stop it.

Sir, I was saying that today we are deliberating upon a particular issue regarding the manner in which the sugar mills have been exploiting the society and the sugarcane producers. Not once but on so many occasions this question has been raised in and out of this House. Shri Raj Narayanji was referring to 1956-57. Shri Khushbakht Rai had put a proposal and the Government had taken a wrong decision in accepting it. When hon'ble Genda Singh had raised this question in the Legislative Assembly of Uttar Pradesh in 1955, Shri Chandrabhan Gupta, the then Industry Minister had said that the policy of the Government was to bring sugar into the cooperative sector. 14 years have passed since 1955 but nothing has happened so far. Now, one issue mentioned by my hon'ble friend Shri Chandra Dutt Pandeyji, is that either the Uttar Pradesh Government or its Cabinet has proposed that the sugar mills should be taken over by the Government and that the Central Government should formulate a national policy in this regard. It is a clever move but I do not know why Shri Sushilkumar Shindeji has a problem with this proposal. I would like to tell hon'ble Shindeji and hon'ble Jagjivan Ramji to learn taking initiatives. Leadership is not expected to take a decision when history forces it to do so. It is the job of the leadership to judge which way history is moving, what indications it is giving and then take steps in that direction and if this step is not taken

then undesirable elements become dominant in the Society and the country's politics. Such undesirable elements always plague our social values and political foundations in the name of socialism, stability or revolutionary ideas. I merely want to say that in 1955 a Committee was constituted under the Chairmanship of Shri B.M. Birla and one thing he had said that the U.P. mills had assets worth more than 9 crore rupees. If I talk of acquiring assets worth more than 9 crore rupees, some of my friends start referring to the Constitution. Sir, if not today then tomorrow we would also be forced to say that if the Constitution is hindering us from keeping pace with the society or is coming in the way of fulfillment of public aspirations then the Right to Property will have to be deleted from the Constitution. This House and this country would have to consider whether it is feasible to allow one Section of the Constitution to trample on the aspirations of crores of people. The Chief Justice, hon'ble Hidayatullahji has said regarding one Section of the Constitution that property rights should not be included in the fundamental rights. The capitalists have earned crores of rupees by investing ten to twelve lakh rupees and my hon'ble friend, Shri Sitaram Jaipuria says last year we paid crores of rupees to farmers for prices of sugarcane. I would like to know whether it is not true that gur and khandsari industry paid more than the mill owners to the farmers for sugarcane and mill owners were given Government protection. The farmers cannot operate kolhu or produce jaggery in areas where mills are operating. Why this policy? Is this policy not meant for mill owners' protection? Who has availed the benefit of this policy? Sir, I want to ask another thing. What is the price fixed by the Government for molasses?

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Sir, a Minister belonging to the Socialist Party has done a number of things which I do not want any Congressman to do. So Sir, I will not discuss this point. I would like to say that a lot of protection has been given. Our friend, Shri Loknath Mishra has made another point that these mills are not allowed to be shut down. After all this single industry is the backbone of Uttar Pradesh's economy. Hence, the Government should take it under its control and there is no need for Attorney-General's report for this purpose. Sir, I request hon'ble Shinde Saheb very earnestly to avoid the dispute as to whether the State Government or the Central Government should take action. If the economy of Uttar Pradesh is to be safeguarded, if the 22 lakh families in the state have to be saved from getting ruined then when the need arises the Union Government should take over all the mills in the country and run them as cooperatives. It is not necessary to nationalize them. Since the question pertains to all the mills, they can be included in the Cooperative sector. And now, Raj Narayanji has opposed the Cooperative sector with his new ideology. Hence, I want to say that the Government

should take over all these sugar mills from the private sector immediately and run them as cooperatives or as public enterprises whichever may be the better option. This is the only way. I would like to request especially that resolution of the dispute between the Uttar Pradesh Government and the Union Government should not be delayed. The Union Government should take initiative in this regard immediately and take some steps to avoid any further delay.

FUNDS OF UNIT TRUST OF INDIA*

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am raising this issue in the House because it is being talked about all over the country that an industrial house is influencing the entire Governmental set up. Be it our Executive or our Legislature, it is influencing all the wings. The matter was raised by Shri Naqvi and Shri Priya Ranjan Dasmunsi, but nothing has been done. It was also in the news that this industrial house sold a share for ₹ 390 to the Government which it had purchased at ₹ 60 and thus, they have received ₹ 1070 crore from the UTI. They have diverted this amount in the name of fake companies. Even it has been stated in the Auditor-General's report, that the calculation of the income tax to be paid by them is also not correct.

Not only one like this but many more instances keep coming to light. It has been stated referring to the hon'ble Prime Minister that a CBI[#] probe against the UTI** and the said industrial house has not been ordered. I do not know how far it is true. I would like to know from the Government that if such order has been given or any action has been taken then the Government should bring it before the House and the entire country so that this impression could be dispelled that this industrial house can do whatever it wishes and the Government would overlook it and if the Government have not taken any action, then, through you, I would request him to kindly look into the matter. I had written a letter to him one and a half month back but it has not yet been acknowledged. I do not want to go deep into details, but only wish that this should be inquired into and the people of the country should not carry this impression that the entire Parliament can be taken for granted on this issue—executive can be made inactive and the entire machinery of the Government can be influenced.

Sir, today it is UTI, tomorrow it can be IDBI[$] or day after tomorrow it can also be ICICI[@]. All these financial institutions are now under a cloud. I am surprised how a senior officer of the department of Finance is immediately transferred at the instance of a particular person or a particular

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* Participating in the discussion on Management of UTI Funds, Lok Sabha Debate, 21 August 2001, *cc.* 178-180.

[#] CBI—Central Bureau of Investigation.

[$] IDBI—Industrial Development Bank of India.

[@] ICICI—Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India.

** UTI—Unit Trust of India.

industrial house. Hon'ble Minister of Finance is sitting here, these acts are done even without informing him. The pepole have a feeling that this industrial house is capable of getting anybody appointed and transferred anywhere. I would not have raised this issue, but wherever I go, I am asked as to why the Parliament is silent over this issue. Why the matter was not discussed when it was raised by Naqvi Saheb and Munshiji in the House. People ask us as to why we are silent, that is why I am raising this issue here. If people will carry such an impression that this industrial house can have its way and the Government will remain inactive and the Parliament tongue-tied, whatelse can be more ominous than this.

Sir, this is not a threat, but if the Government do not take any action in this regard then I would be compelled to prepare a document of the misdeeds of this industrial house and distribute it in the entire country. But, then, I would request the hon'ble Minister of Parliamentary Affairs not to mind this act of mine. I am saying this cutting across party lines, and not because the hon'ble Minister of Finance is helpless. He is my friend. So, many things are in the airs against him and he is unnecessarily being compelled to take all these allegations over himself. I feel that such helplessness of the hon'ble Minister of Finance is neither good for himself, nor for the country. People who cannot oppose that family, oppose the Finance Minister or a particular person in Government. This is not a healthy sign for a democratic set up. With these words, I conclude.

SOCIAL ISSUES

WELFARE OF THE YOUTH*

Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would like to thank Shri Mohan Dhariaji for providing an opportunity to discuss this problem. But, the debate over this problem will be relevant and meaningful only if we ponder over this resolution taking into consideration what has been said by Shri Das in this respect. If we consider the views of Shri Dhariaji and Shri Dasji** together, then the problems of the youth in the country can be solved.

Just now, our friend Shri Choradiaji*** expressed his views against the scheme. He has tried to teach in his own way that if somebody wants to set up an industry, restrictions should not be imposed on him. I think that according to him, that is the only solution to the problem of unemployment and the problem of youth. I respect the sentiments of my friend, Shri Choradiaji. I also believe that solution to the problem of unemployment lies in setting up of industries on a large scale. But how will more and more industries be set up? Did we have resources for more industrial development in our country before the Planning Commission was set up. I would not like to go into the details. Shri Choradiaji knows very well that the growth rate of our country was even less than half per cent before the implementation of First Five Year Plan. It was almost negligible and no development was taking place. Even after the introduction of Plan, growth could not get momentum. When I say that restrictions should be imposed on the big industrialists, I do not say so out of any animosity.

Vice-Chairman, Sir, all the means of production at present available to us and to the human beings should be utilized properly. When there is scarcity of resources in the country, we should properly utilize whatever resources we have got. What is happening today? As per data provided by our colleague, Shri Dhariaji, crores of people are facing the problem of unemployment in the country and they have no source of livelihood. Our Education Minister is also sitting here and the youth had expected from him that he would find out some solution to their problem. But, today, what we see is that if there are twenty youth, two out of them are students and eighteen are unemployed. It is not something that can be tackled by the

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* Participating in the discussion on "Constitution of a Permanent Board for Youth"; Rajya Sabha Debate, 24 November 1967, *cc*. 1153-61 (Originally in Hindi).

** Shri Banke Bihari Das, Member of Parliament.

*** Shri V.M. Choradia, Member of Parliament.

Education Minister alone. It requires fundamental changes. I would like to say to my respected friend, Shri M.C. Shah Saheb that if the youth show anger on any matter at some point of time, it should not be construed that their anger is against any person or the Parliament. But, I would like to point out that the values are breaking down. Future cannot be built just by recollecting our glorious past. Past glories are our heritage but future is our vision and the new generation will have to work afresh for converting it into reality. If I disagree with Shri Mohan Dhariaji, I disagree on the sole point that this matter is not going to be sorted out by the Boards. It requires fundamental changes and the changes of ideology. The old generation has discharged its duties. In an under-developed country like India, where problems are complex, we have to be bold enough to take risk. That boldness cannot be found in the old generation despite their views being clear and illuminating. I do not want to say anything new. A quotation was being shown to the Education Minister yesterday evening. Someone asked Mahatma Gandhiji to become the President of Congress as the Congress was facing crisis. I would like to quote the words of Mahatma Gandhi before the Education Minister and the Minister of State as an example. At that time, Mahatma Gandhi had said that the old generation has completed its task. Now the young generation will have to come forward to take the responsibility and the old generation should handover the responsibilities to them with dignity. If they do not handover the responsibilities, the responsibilities will fall in the hands of the youth with the passage of time. This is what Mahatma Gandhiji had said. Through you, I, would like to convey to Shri Mohan Dhariaji and to anybody sharing his viewpoint that mere requests are not going to bring about social changes. Social changes are brought through struggles. Human life is the confluence of good and evil powers and they are always in conflict with each other. Every youth has a duty to develop good and put an end to the evil.

Today, there are problems in the welfare of the youth in our society because the means of production are concentrated in the hands of very few people. They have monopoly over all these means. It is impossible to bring about social change and solve the problems of the youth without putting an end to the monopoly.

Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to cite an example. I do not believe that all the pleasures and facilities should be provided to the youth. I do not believe in the perception that youth should enjoy all the pleasures and facilities without doing work. However, I believe that the youth should have ray of hope, aspirations and faith in the future. If the youth think that sacrifice is necessary for the development and future of the country, they should certainly come forward to make big sacrifices. But, Sir, what is happening today? There is greed everywhere. It has become the order of

the day to serve one's personal interests and against this backdrop, youth are advised to make sacrifices and take responsibilities. We cannot get things done in this way. Two years ago, when I had been to Cuba, I saw in the streets of Havana that all the young students as well as Fidel Castro were wearing the same dress. But in the countries like India and Japan, clothes of 200 varieties are worn. The Education Minister is very well aware that this number might be more in India. It may range from two thousand to several thousands. During the last six years, we had adverse balance of trade to the tune of ₹ 45 crore only because some people wanted to wear mercerized and muslin clothes. If we want to improve the future of the youth of the country with such an attitude, then it is not going to be improved. We saw what happened in Cuba. It is a Communist Country. Many of my friends might be against Communism. But, I still remember the day I used to read about Mahatma Gandhi as a student. What Mahatmaji had said? He said that hospitals should be set up for the wards of the labourers in the big 'kothis'. I observed that big 'kothis' were constructed by the Americans in the best localities in Havana. Presently, these are under Government's possession. Also, there are embassies of 8-10 countries there, as the country has very close relationships with the Communist countries. In the rest of the 'kothis', different number of people live in each 'kothi' like 10, 15, 20 or 25. Who are those people? They are the wards of farmers from villages who had never heard of the concept of 'study' during whole of their life and for the last seven generations. The carpets lying therein are in the same condition in which the big capitalists had left them in those American houses. Even today, they are maintained in the similar way as they were maintained at that time. Such children are kept in these houses who have been deprived of education for generations. No one has ever tried to provide education for generations.

I would like to tell you one more episode—

There was a hotel named 'Hilton' in Havana. This hotel is today named as the 'Liberal Havana Hotel', **Azad** Havana Hotel. Who lives in that hotel? Sir, you know who lives in 'Hilton' hotel. A farmer who produces more by toiling the most in sugarcane farms, is provided the facility of one-month accommodation at the Hilton Hotel on the Government expenses. Why is it so? It is because that farmer contributes to the nation-building. But, contrary to this, the situation in our country is such that a man — I would not quote name of any capitalist — who has never contributed to nation-building since his childhood till his death, spends whole of his life at the hotels like 'Oberoi International' and the 'Ashoka'. But, on the other hand, one who works very hard in difficult circumstances towards nation-building since his/her childhood till he/she breathes his/her last, is perhaps not allowed even to enter the vicinity of such luxurious places. Do you think

that the Nation can progress under such circumstances. The Nation would not progress in such circumstances. I would like to bring to the kind notice of the hon'ble Minister of Education that Constitution of Permanent Boards does not guarantee a solution to this issue. Change in mentality is the sole solution to this issue. If you want the youth of the country to realize their responsibility, then create faith in them so as to make them realize that the responsibility of nation-building rests with them.

I am also of the view that the youth should not do what they do today *e.g.* setting the trams or buses or trains ablaze. The youth should not do such things. But, why does it happen? This is because the youth do not have any leadership. They have power and courage but nobody is willing to lead them. We are the Members of Parliament. I don't know whether I am a youth or not. We are termed as the youth even though we are above 40. My colleague Shri Mohan Dharia is thinking of the youth at a time when he has grown old now. What should I now say to you. I fear when I think that if we represent their aspirations, our hon'ble Minister of Education, Shri Trigun Sen may feel sad. With such type of feelings, the youth of the country cannot be united or organized and engaged in nation building activities. I would like to urge the aged persons of the country to pay attention to the experiences of the past. They should themselves lead the youths so as to make them realize that the responsibility of future-building rests on them. If they do not want to do so, then those terming themselves the youths — be it Shri Mohan Dhariaji or Shri Banke Bihari Das — should resolve to provide leadership, even if they may have to face great difficulties in this way.

Shri Banke Bihari Dasji has given a right direction in his second resolution. His proposal is that the income of a family in the country should not exceed more than one thousand five hundred rupees. On one hand, lacs of rupees are wasted, while on the other, it is said that there are no funds for the elementary education. Our hon'ble Minister of Education might know Shri Amrit Nahata who is the Member of Lok Sabha from the Constituency of Barmer and Jaisalmer. It is said that the amount of privy purses is less. The king gets rupees two lacs. Nobody knows how this amount is spent. But, if an amount of rupees five thousand is sought for construction of a borewell in a village of Barmer for providing the facility of potable water there, it is said for two years that no funds are available. Whether any youth is likely to accept such thing.

Hon'ble Sir, I would like to know from the Minister of Education whether he would like to assure us in this regard as he says that he can not provide funds, in case we demand sports facilities for the youth, and ask for a provision of an amount of rupees fifty to each of the high school failed or passed rural youth to provide education to illiterate rural people whereas,

it is clearly seen that an amount of rupees five hundred each is spent per head per day in 'Oberoi' hotel.

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Thus, hon'ble Minister of Education, Sir, I would like to bring it to your kind notice that you have the greater responsibility on your shoulders to show the path of light to the entire world at a time when there seems no ray of light. It is not from today, rather for ages, the ray of light comes from the temples of education. The society has a new hope from these temples.

You know it well that only two communities namely — the labour community that creates society with its hardwork as well as the student community and educated youths who have a new vision about the future— work towards creating a new society, bringing in new philosophy, changed mentality and newer approach towards life in the country. If both these communities are united and the Ministry of Education too takes a few steps in this regard, then, in my opinion, the objectives of the resolution moved by Shri Mohan Dhariaji are likely to be achieved. If such a feeling is created in this way, then, we have no other option but to pay our attention towards the other resolution moved by Shri Banke Bihari Dasji that seeks inculcation of feeling of renunciation as well as austerity and economy. These two things cannot go together. On the one hand, we say that we would save our young generation from poverty, starvation, unemployment and on the other hand, there is huge accumulation of money and people openly resort to lies for personal interests and personal benefits and even this Parliament takes months and years to stop this thing. Therefore, it is not a major threat as Shri Mohan Dharia has said that in some days, thirty-six thousand people will come, but the biggest threat is that perhaps the people will lose their faith in democracy. If we are not able to do anything even after raising the voice of poor in this Parliament, youth will think that there is no other way except anarchy and then, you will have to stop accusing the youth. It may be that we may fail or perhaps we may not succeed in it but I believe and have faith that no one can stop the course of history. Youths are the hope of the future of India. They are going to stake their claim *i.e.* his right. No power in the world can stop them from doing so. I will be happy if the older generation confer them with their rights with dignity otherwise youth are going to have their rights in every possible manner.

ATROCITIES ON HARIJANS AND ADIVASIS*

Deputy Speaker, Sir, discussion on this topic is going on since today afternoon. I seek apology of the House for not being present here. I understand the feelings of this House, but the situation is such that where on one hand atrocities are being committed on the *Harijans,* on the other hand, humanity is at stake in the Gulf. I had to go to the Rajya Sabha, where a discussion on the Gulf was going on.

Recently, when this issue was raised by Shri Madan Lal Khurana and Prof. Vijay Kumar Malhotra in this House, I have said that it is a matter of grave concern. The seriousness of the issue increases, when these atrocities are committed on the poor section of our society, who have been exploited and neglected. It increases more, when the units of the administration, which are responsible for their security and protection are under doubt. I am pained to say that in this incident, the behaviour of the police is not beyond doubt. This has been accepted by the State Government and from the information we have gathered, it appears that some police officials have committed excesses and those were so grave that some innocent people lost their lives. I don't want to go into such figures as how many of them were guilty or were innocent, but whosoever has been killed wrongly, whether an innocent person or guilty person, it is a wrong thing. I assure this House that full investigation will be made in this regard and the guilty will be punished.

The Uttar Pradesh Government has taken steps in this regard and an inquiry is going on. I think that its report will be received soon.

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I will reply to it. I have been told that one of the officials, who was to be arrested, is absconding and some others have managed to get bail. Therefore, no one could be arrested. No one has been freed deliberately, but…*(Interruptions)*…

I can not say it for certain. This is an information. It can be wrong also. I am saying it to the House, but there is one very strange question and I have no answer to it. If the court has given bail to anyone, the Government can do nothing in it and the intention of the Government in this regard…*(Interruptions)*… But if any negligence has been committed, we will see to rectify.

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* Participating as PM in the Motion for Adjournment on reported incidents of atrocities on SCs in various parts of the country, Lok Sabha Debate, 26 February 1991, *cc.* 622-629.

Deputy Speaker, Sir, our country is passing through a transitional period. A class of our society, which has been exploited and suppressed for thousands of years, is now taking a step to create a new history. The *adivasis, harijans,* poor and backwards belong to these classes of our society. But now an awareness is coming among the people of these classes and there are two reasons behind it. Firstly, as we have democracy we go to them after every five years or sometimes and tell them…*(Interruptions)*…becomes glad? I am happy if you became glad by this.

I was saying that we go to them and tell them that they are the builder of this society and this country. This is one reason behind the awareness and secondly, the society has a dynamism of its own, which is known as social dynamism. A society cannot remain as it is. It is always changing within itself, whether we want it or not.

Deputy Speaker, Sir, the number of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes students studying in universities and colleges is equal to the total number of students studying in the university at the time when we were studying. They are taught the history of revolutions in the world and they know that the God has not made anyone unequal, but it is the present social set up, that has exploited and neglected them. Therefore, they want their rights. Now, it has to be decided by us whether we will change ourselves according to their feelings and the policy and programmes of the Government will be formulated according to their wishes and expectations or we will try to suppress them through the suppressive forces of the Government.

We don't want to accuse anyone, but unfortunately, it is not easy to bring about change in the social set up. Those, who have full control of this set up of wealth, power and Government do not want to give up their interests so easily.

Deputy Speaker, Sir, therefore, I would like to submit that we have to speed up this process of bringing about change and as one of my friends asked, I would like to say it specifically that if we want to improve this situation, we have to speed up this change. Attention has to be paid towards the welfare of these classes, who have been exploited and neglected till now. It is true that this issue is related with law and order situation also and it shows the weakness of the police and the administration, but it also shows the weakness of our social set up. We have to take steps to bring about change in that social set up. Those who are raising these issues of atrocities today, have atleast taken a step in the right direction. They have started to understand the concept of social consciousness. Their social consciousness is demanding its right place and wants to change this social set up, under which such exploitation and suppression has taken place.

I think this mentality will never change. When we will analyse our economic policies, we will take steps to bring about change in the society. We should not shirk from our responsibilities and we should not consider the human distress through individual incidents only, but should look towards it in the perspective of social change.

Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am confident that this discussion in the House today is going in the right direction. But we had to achieve the objective behind this discussion and it will be good if this House is prepared to bring about that social change, in which, no person belonging to the scheduled caste or scheduled tribe will remain helpless, will ever be exploited. But I am pained to say that although there is unity among our friends on this question, but there is a lack of unity in this House on the question of policies on social change. I will be glad if our friends sitting on both the sides will together work to speed up the work of bringing about social change and will try to take the country towards it…*(Interruptions)*…May be I am a conservative in your view, but I am mentioning about progressiveness.

Deputy Speaker, Sir, so far as the question of law and order is concerned, there is no difference in it, whether it is U.P. or Bihar I have observed that we link every question to party politics. Death can be linked to party politics. Wherever there is killing, it is the murder of humanity and so there in no question of any political difference. Therefore, I say that we should be united at least on some questions. It could have understood if someone from Government's side would have said that whatever has happened is good. Many of our colleagues have raised their hands and in case it is claimed that the U.P. Government officials have done a great job then I shall be the first person to join you and say that we deplore the action of Uttar Pradesh Government. Whatever had happened there, whether in U.P., Bihar, Gujarat, Rajasthan or in Maharashtra, wherever it might have happened, whenever some innocent person is killed, it is a matter of shame for all of us.

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Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to say that we should unanimously condemn this action and that the question raised by Shri Vijay Kumar and Shri Khuranaji is very important. I respect their sentiments and appreciate them for drawing the attention of the House and the Nation towards this burning problem. Their inspiration will give us boost to work more effectively but it will be better if they refrain from doubting intensions of one another. We may not have as much affection towards them as they have but we too have some concern for them for the sake of humanity. They should keep it in mind. None should create any controversy on this issue, may it be the Central Government, U.P. Government or Bihar Government. It is our firm

belief that all State Governments should work unitedly and try to improve the prevailing situation and our effort will be in this direction. The doubts and misgivings in the hearts of the *Harijans* and *Adivasis* should not be further enhanced because doubts and apprehensions created in the hearts of people further complicate the matters. I would request the hon'ble Members of this House to make an earnest effort to solve the problems and eradicate the prevailing evils and at the same time refrain from committing any such act which may give a feeling that any attempt of hatching a conspiracy against the *Harijans* and *Adivasis* is being made. If this sort of a feeling is allowed to go deep into the hearts of *Harijans* and *Adivasis*, then they will not be able to look at this august House with any hope. In that case frustration and despair would prevail and that would have serious repercussions. If you look at *Adivasis* inhabited area from Tripura down to Tamil Nadu, you will find a sense of uneasiness, pain and agony prevailing and do not give air to this feeling. My request to all of you is to make concerted efforts to remove their sufferings.

Deputy Speaker, Sir, I assure this House that you convene a meeting of all the leaders of the political parties in this House, take a decision what steps are to be taken to prevent recurrence of this type of incidents and the Government will accept every word of that decision.

Deputy Speaker, Sir, though it is not proper for me to make this type of announcement, but as the Members are too much concerned and as it is a deeper agony, the Government of India will provide funds so that every deceased person gets at least one lakh rupees. If the Government of Uttar Pradesh or Bihar has given something, that will be included in it.

Deputy Speaker, Sir, the objection raised by the hon'ble Member is correct. I did not go there and the Minister of State visited the other place. If any other Minister or I visit this place and it gives some sense of satisfaction and security to these people then we shall go there as well.

STRIKE BY THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES*

Hon'ble Deputy Chairperson, Madam, I rise to support the motion introduced by Sh. Vajpayeeji** in the House. I am surprised to note that the Government has reiterated the same thing which has already been put before the house repeatedly. It has been repeatedly said that it was a political strike. An hon'ble Member has even said that Praja Socialist Party was responsible for the strike.

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I would like to say that some hon'ble Members of Praja Socialist Party also work for Trade Union Movement and the Party takes pride what ever they have done for the strike. But Praja Socialist Party does not accept that they have done this with any political motive or political interest in mind. Today the Government claims that illegal strike has been suppressed and it has also been said that any one indulging in illegal activities will not be spared. An hon'ble Member has gone to the extent of saying that we have got power and we will suppress such voices forever in future. I would like to say, that public consciousness can never be suppressed. There have been great Kings and great powers who ruled the world but public consciousness could never be suppressed. Today the public is aware and conscious and if any Government particularly in a democracy tries to suppress the spirit of the public, it will do so at its own peril as no power can suppress it. Hon'ble Minister of Railways is sitting here, I do not want to go to the dispute if the workers were right or wrong, but I would like to ask if you have the same zeal, power and courage to deal with your higher officials as you have shown for poor workers. I have Railway Audit Report with me. Hon'ble Members can go through this, they will find embezzlement of lakhs of rupees and wasteful expenditure at every page. It is written on page 15 of the report that ₹ 6 lakhs of railways have gone waste due to weakness on part of the Railway Board and non-placing of any order for eight months by them. One hon'ble Member has said that railways have incurred huge losses due to strike. I would like to know from the Minister of Railways whether the Members of Railway Board, which is responsible for the said loss of ₹ 6 lakhs, would be placed under suspension. It is said that they are

* Participating in the discussion on "Reinstatement of Central Government Employees who participated in the strike"; Rajya Sabha Debate, 27 April 1962, *cc*. 923-32 (Originally in Hindi)

** Referring to Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, M.P.

learning new things in new democracy that is why they are making mistakes. This is said only in case of high officials and Ministers. But the same is never said in case of subordinate employees who are toiling hard to build this country.

An hon'ble Member who was perhaps a Deputy-Minister in the department of Labour had congratulated INTUC and asked us to know about the history. He said that INTUC was not formed after independence, rather it was formed at Champaran. He remembered Gandhiji and Champaran. While remembering Mahatma Gandhiji and Champaran, I would like to know from the men looking after the administration about the basis on which battle of freedom was pursued. Gandhiji had said a single man, howsoever great he may be, cannot build the Nation alone. It is the responsibility of the crores of people, who are hungry and frustrated to build the Nation. We need to boost their morale. But contrary to this, the Government is demoralizing those poor employees by dismissing them from their service. They have no political interest in anything. The people of Praja Socialist Party can have political interest, but for poor people, the only question is how to survive? So, they fight only for the survival. Is it not true that our national income has increased by 42 per cent between the two Five Year Plans? At the same time is it also not true that living standard of labourers has fallen between 1947 and 1960 due to an increase in the cost of living? If this is so, then who is responsible for such a kind of situation?

One hon'ble Member has asked to compare a Government employee with an employee in private firm. He also said that Government employees should content themselves with whatever they are getting. But I would like to request the hon'ble Member that if you compare a Government employee with an employee of a private firm, then, the money spent by a Minister should also be compared with the money spent by a poor. If you say that the employees in a firm of Birla are paid low salary and perks, then, I would like to ask you whether you are ready to give your Government employees the same salary and perks as given to the employees of a firm of lower group? Will you agree to my suggestion? The question is whether we need to encourage the Champaran spirit or discourage it?

An hon'ble Member, who is my friend, said what happened in Russia? This was our presumption so far that there were some Members in the Cabinet who love Mao[$]. But now I am surprised to know and feel sad that there are also some persons in the party who love the ideas and principles of Mao and Khrushchev[@]. I would like to tell them that we are not ready to follow the ideas of Mao. This is an ancient country where Gandhiji was

[$] Mao Tse-tung.

[@] Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev.

born who made the poor stand against imperialism. It is not good to say such things in this country. That is why I say that if hon'ble Vajpayeeji* and Bhupesh Guptaji are supporting something then we should not think as to which political party they belong to. If this is so, then I think there are also people on that side who support Communist Party. As Shri Abid Ali Saheb has said there are some people who are communal and anti-national and such type of people are found in every country. I know that a big party like Congress also have big number of such people. So, I would like to say that while considering these facts, do not take such things into account.

It has also been said that leniency was shown by the Government but is it not a fact that people were dismissed from service even at places where violence and disturbances have not taken place. I would like to mention the incident of Uttar Pradesh, especially of Lucknow. No incident of violence and vandalism was reported from there but despite that employees were dismissed from service. Such incidents took place in North Eastern Railways where the administration had ordered to re-employ them but the higher officials deferred the matter. Are there not cases where people were given their job again but efforts were made to transfer them to a place where their health condition did not permit them to work? If we take into account the number of people transferred, deprived of their promotion and placed under suspension, then we would reach the conclusion that they were given harsh punishment for taking part in strike.

Just now, an hon'ble Member said that it was a revolt. Another member said that out of 20 lakh employees only 5 lakh have given notice of strike. The Government said that hardly 10 per cent employees took part in the strike. I would like to know how these two things were said. On one hand an Ordinance was issued by the President and on the other the Government said that the strike has fizzled out.

Hon'ble Deputy-Chairman Sir, earlier to this when I was delivering my speech, I said that the Government made an announcement that only 25 lakh people gave notice for the strike and out of them hardly 2.5 lakh people participated in it. But on the other hand it was also said that a revolt like situation was created and to curb the same it was necessary to issue an Ordinance. Some hon'ble Members from that side have also said that the punishment given by the Government was not enough and the Government had shown leniency towards the employees. I was told that 1,369 employees of Posts and Telegraph Department were demoted and their salary was reduced. So, 1,369 posts have been demoted and promotion of 4,012 employees has been withheld till March, 1962. 6,000 people have been arrested and another 6,000 have been suspended. For such a minor

* Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Member of Parliament.

strike so many people of a department have been punished and despite that the Government is saying that we have not taken harsh action against them. I do not know what is the fact but many responsible employees of Posts and Telegraph Department have told me that when they met the hon'ble Minister of Home Affairs, they were told by him that if the dismissed employees of the Directorate of Posts and Telegraph want to come back to work, he would reinstate them. But when the letter to this effect was written by the Ministry of Home Affairs to the Directorate, it contained facts totally opposite to what was promised. The assurance given by the Minister of Home Affairs to the employees was not fulfilled. The result is that 8 dismissed employees of the Department of Posts and Telegraph are still jobless. The situation in respect of railway workers is the same and one. There are so many people who are under suspension even today. Twelve people including the Secretary of Eastern Railway Men's Union are under suspension even today. A large number of employees have been cleared by the Court. Court have found them innocent but despite the court's order, they have so far not been reinstated. I am not aware whether the administration, which claims to be democratic, has any right to punish anyone whom the judiciary has found innocent. But it is all happening in this Government and despite that it is said that the Government is not harsh to them. Apart from this it is also said that people of the opposition do not know patriotism. I do not know who is going to learn patriotism from them? I, through you, would like to make it clear that I am not begging anything on behalf of the employees. I am only reminding of their duties. I would like to submit with all respect that if the Government really want to see that democracy flourishes in the country, then, they should ensure that a petty employee and a poor man must feel equal before law. If this feeling is not created in his mind and if he does not feel secure in the country then what will happen? What will be the outcome of your efforts? Please think over it. For you, someone may be a traitor or you can say that someone does not follow the path of non-violence, but would like to say, through you, that though he may or may not follow that path and if the Government continues to follow the same path then it will compel the employees and poor to think whether the path of democracy and non-violence is the right path to follow? If we want to make democracy and non-violence stronger then it is a must that we treat our poor people on equal footing and let us not allow the gap between the rich and the poor to widen further. They should also not suffer any social discrimination on economic ground. The rich may continue to remain rich and likewise, poor may remain poor for quite some time but the gap should not be allowed to remain for ever I would like to say, through you, to the House that if this situation does not improve then the future of the country is in dark and it is my duty to remind the Government to shun political ill-will and political differences.

An hon'ble Member said that the people of Communist Party stand by you when you are having good time and when they think that the battle can be won otherwise they will desert you and the same thing happened in this strike. When they, thought that the strike is going to fail they withdraw themselves from the scene and put forth Praja Socialist Party. I would like to know whether the Government is adopting the same strategy. I believe that the Government would not do the same thing as has been done by the people who do not believe in democracy. With these words, I would request the Government to reinstate those employees who have been dismissed/suspended from their job without any hitch.

TEACHERS' STRIKE IN UP*

Hon'ble Deputy Chairman Sir, the issue regarding the strike by teachers of Uttar Pradesh has been raised many times in this House. It is a matter of great concern that the teachers, who shape the future generation and on whose shoulder future of the country lies are compelled to take steps which forced them to go behind the bar.

Sir, you are well aware that not only now but since the beginning of civilization, whenever civilization and culture of any country came under clouds, these Darum-Ulums and schools have led the way and shown the rays of hope.

If the teachers of these educational institutions are in distress and they are in gloom, without any ray of hope for future and they are in anguish, then this issue does not remain confined to a few families or to a few teachers rather the whole history and the future of the entire country gets associated.

Sir, I do not want to present this issue highlighting its economic aspect. Our colleague Shri Raj Narayanji has already explained it elaborately, I just want to draw the attention of the Government towards its cultural and humanitarian aspects.

Sir, Uttar Pradesh is the largest State of this country, but it is the most backward State in the field of education and the employees here, whether they are teaching in universities, secondary schools or primary schools or are clerks or peons in schools, are getting lowest pay scales. I feel ashamed to state that whenever this issue is raised, the higher officers of the Union Government, who are responsible persons, say that except producing Prime Minister for this country Uttar Pradesh can do nothing. Not only the teachers and economic system of Uttar Pradesh are poor but perhaps it is the weakest State in the sense that it is unable to pressurize the Union Government to provide more assistance to the underprivileged and the Dalits. Sir, consequently Uttar Pradesh is lagging behind by one Five Year Plan from the rest of the country which is affecting education system of the State and consequently the pay scale and life of teachers are affected adversely.

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* Participating in the Short duration discussion; Rajya Sabha Debate, 18 December 1968, *cc.* 4718-24 (Originally in Hindi).

Then, some figures are given but a serious dispute has arisen in that regard which is not a small issue. The Government of Uttar Pradesh says that five to six crore rupees would be required to be incurred if all the demands of teachers are accepted whereas according to teachers' union it would be around 2 crore 50 lakhs or 2 crore 5 lakh rupees. So far as I know this dispute is not new, it is there atleast last fortnight. Sir, when I speak about the failure of Uttar Pradesh administration in this House some of my friends feel that I am exaggerating the things. I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Education is it not possible to call the members of teachers' union and the officers to discuss this issue and to reconcile the figures. But even this is not done and the dispute goes on, the teachers are sent to jail and the Government easily gets hundreds and thousands of policemen who put eight thousand teachers behind the bars. The Government of Uttar Pradesh has become so heartless, paralyzed and incompetent that it is unable to take any decision and.....

Sir, I would like to say with utmost sincerity and all seriousness that this responsibility rests with Governor of the State. I am not making this statement off the cuff. Hon'ble Governor himself wants to become a Chief Minister. Sir, your friend, hon. Gopal Reddyji thinks that he can exercise all those powers which could not be exercised by the Chief Ministers of Congress Party or Samyukta Vidhayak Dal.

.....For him governance means a tool for exercising suppressive power on the one hand and a means to promote art on the other hand. While the teachers are being sent to jails on the one hand, there is a plan to construct a cinema hall or studio with the help of artists or dancers in Ghaziabad on the other. It seems that he has read the drama of Shri Jaishankar Prasad in which a brave warrior listens to the sound of clashing of swords from one ear and the melody of anklets from the other. Our Governors can either be art lovers because connoisseurs can get lakhs of rupees including all the facilities in their respective States or they can exercise suppressive powers of police in form of lathicharge, or firing on 8000 teachers and sending them to jail. Sir, it is a very painful situation and the Central Government cannot simply get away by saying that the administration of Uttar Pradesh is good for nothing and therefore it is not able to take a decision in the matter. Today, the State is under President's rule. Hon'ble Trigun Senji, hon'ble Bhagwat Jha Azad and hon'ble Sher Singh all are responsible for matters pertaining to education in the State. They cannot abdicate their responsibility on the plea that they are doing nothing just because hon'ble Gopal Reddyji or the Secretary of Education Department whose name I do not know, is not doing anything. Sir, you would be surprised to know that when the dearness allowance of the employees of Uttar Pradesh Government is increased, the demand of the teachers for the same hike in their allowance

is not acceded to. Why is their demand not acceded to? Do the teachers have not to face the price-rise? Please just think over it. I would like to ask another question from the Government. The teachers have demanded that their salaries should be provided from the State exchequer. What is the status in this regard? The schools collect some funds from the students in the form of fees and other charges and the remaining funds are provided from the State exchequer in the form of grant or aid. As per the figures provided by the Education Ministry of the State, a saving of 2 to 2.5 crore rupees can be done out of the total funds including fees collection and grant after payment of salary of the teachers. Beside the same saving, 10 per cent could also be saved for contingency and other expenses. I have been told that 30 per cent is deducted by the State. Even if 30 per cent is deducted, the remaining funds are sufficient. But 30 per cent amount is not deducted by any State in the country. In some States, it is 16 per cent and in some other States, it is 10 per cent for art faculty and 20 per cent for science faculty. But Uttar Pradesh administration wants to keep 30 per cent. The people know that the funds shown in these figures do not match the actual amount of funds. If the amount of funds is not the same as projected in the figures, who is accountable for this? It means that when you present the budget before the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly you get the budget passed on the basis of fudged-up figures. The Education Secretary and the Governor of the State do not know that the arguments advanced by them to counter the point of the teachers, are based on figures falsified with the intention of getting funds sanctioned to get the budget passed by the Legislative Assembly. Sir, if this is the case, then there can not be a more serious crime, than that in a parliamentary democracy.

Sir, I would like to draw your attention towards a few more points. The JTC (Junior Teaching Certificate) teachers are demanding CT (Certificating Training). The Education Department has said that any teacher who has taught in the JTC grade for five years can be appointed in the CT grade by any school. However, if such a teacher continues in the same school he would not be given CT grade. Sir, this example clearly illustrates, that such opinions could have been uttered only by one who is under some delusion.

Sir, I would also like to make another submission, through you, that the Grade IV employees and the clerks are getting very low salaries and don't have any fixed grade or pay scale. They are paid in an arbitrary manner. Feudalism has been abolished in the country but it is still being practised in the Education Department in Uttar Pradesh. Perhaps, the Governor who is promoting feudalistic traditions, may be very pleased with this because a few remnants of feudal system are still intact there in primitive form. Any country or State where employees are low paid and unhappy lot and where teachers are extremely dissatisfied can have no future. Sir, I would

like to make a point here that whatever is being done in Uttar Pradesh today is just darkening the future of our country. Any Government which puts 18,000 teachers behind bars cannot claim to be a democratic Government. As Hon'ble Raj Narayanji said I congratulate those 8,000, or 12,000 teachers who were put in jail, that they maintained peace and order and that they followed old tradition. But if the Uttar Pradesh Government is failing to learn from history, through you I would like to request the Hon'ble Prime Minister, and education Minister to accept the demands of the teachers in Uttar Pradesh without any delay and to ensure their release from jail.

**With Biju Patnaik, Choudhary Charan Singh,
Sharad Pawar and Rabi Ray (from Left to Right)**

With Jaya Prakash Narayan and others

With J. R. Jayewardene (Sri Lankan President) and Morarji Desai

Comrades in Arms. With P.V. Narasimha Rao and Atal Bihari Vajpayee, New Delhi, 17 April 2002

With P. V. Narasimha Rao, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi and others

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

FOOD SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY*

I have no intention to enter into bitter criticism and controversy on this issue but the least that I can say is that the Minister of State for Food seems to be sadly unmindful to the realities of the situation. Yesterday while speaking he tried to give the impression to the country and to this House that everything was quite all right. He made an attempt to show to the Nation that because for four years no discussions were held in this House nothing extraordinary had happened on the food front. I am sorry to say that the Minister concerned had not cared to read reports published by his own Department. I want to study this problem in another perspective and that is, whether we are going to fight the food crisis on a war level as promised in the past. Here is a Report called 'The Intensive Agricultural District Programme Report'. In 1959, a Committee on Agricultural Production was appointed by the Ford Foundation and I would like to read a few sentences from the Report of that Committee. The Committee says: Food production should become a Central objective under the crusade for a new food policy.

> "This crusade involves more than a plan. It requires allocation of the necessary resources and hard work, zeal, enthusiasm and sacrifice on the part of all those who are engaged in it. Making a plan is meaningless without adequate execution of the plans that are made. The peasants as usual will not achieve the food production targets. The steps necessary to mobilise the Nation for action must be clearly outlined."

This is the Report of the team but everyone who heard the speech of the Minister wondered whether there was any sense of urgency. It is not only my complaint but this is the unanimous complaint that there was no indication of any sense of urgency in the speech of the Minister.

The Food Minister seems to think that everything will improve and because we have been making some progress year by year, everything will be set right in due course. He tried to put all the blame on nature and said that because of some cycle, every third or fourth year we get scarcity of food and sugar. We have to view these things in a different light, a new light. What does planning mean? Does planning mean that we come to this House and say that because of drought or flood or some disease, production has fallen down?

* Participating in the discussion 'Food situation in the country'; Rajya Sabha Debate, 10 December, 1963, cc. 2787-2808.

In 1949 the hon'ble Prime Minister made a very good observation about scarcity of sugar. He said, "What is disturbing is not the fact that some of us have not been able to get sugar but the fact that the sugar position could deteriorate so rapidly and the deterioration could not be checked quickly. That is the fact which is very important and we should find out who is particularly responsible for it and who is guilty of it." This is the statement made by the Prime Minister.

Madam, I shall take the sugar situation in the country and I should like to discuss the sugar policy of the Government of India. In 1960-61 thirty lakh tons of sugar were produced and for this the sugar mills were given incentives. I do not know of other States but in the State of U.P. alone a sum of ₹ 8 crore was given to the industrialists for producing more sugar. As a result of all this about 30 lakh tons were produced in the country and next year the Food Ministry came with a slogan that there was a surplus, there was a glut in the market of sugar and that we cannot consume all the sugar. The industrialists and the Government, both agreed that production should be curtailed. In 1961 when it was sowing season for sugarcane, the Government extended all help to the agriculturists in the form of subsidy, seeds, manure, etc. and the sugarcane growers planted sugarcane in larger quantities and in larger acreage but all of a sudden in August, 1961 the Government of India comes out with an Ordinance that the production of sugar should be reduced by ten per cent, and if the mills will not adhere to this Ordinance they will have to pay penal duty. This was the order of the Food Ministry. And why was it said that there was surplus of sugar? The Food Minister will come and say that there was no export market. I agree that exports should be there but what about the consumption situation in the country?

With your permission, Madam, I should like to place before this House the consumption situation. A few years back India was second only to Cuba in producing sugar. I do not know; she may be now first because of reduced production in Cuba. But let us see the world figures of consumption. I quote the 1961 figures of per capita consumption of sugar from the book 'Indian Sugar Manual' published by the Sugar Technologists Association of India, Kalyanpur, Kanpur. On page 7 in Table No. 5 they have given the worldwide per capita consumption of sugar. They are as follows:—

Belgium	—	35.3 Kgs.
Czechoslovakia	—	42.9 ,,
France	—	31.4 ,,
Finland	—	44.5 ,,
Germany (West)	—	31.9 ,,

Italy	—	24.0 Kgs.
Netherlands	—	58.6 ,,
Poland	—	33.5 ,,
Switzerland	—	54.4 ,,
Sweden	—	43.7 ,,
United Kingdom	—	56.0 ,,
Turkey	—	12.7 ,,
U.S.S.R.	—	30.3 ,,

And what is the figure for India? The figure for India is 14.5 lbs. which comes to 7 Kg. Only two countries in the whole world, that is, Indonesia and Pakistan, consume less sugar than India. But the Food Minister comes and says that there was surplus sugar in the country in 1960-61 and therefore the production was reduced by ten per cent. Who is guilty of this wrong policy? Who advised the Government of India? I sympathise with the Food Minister that he comes here armed with wrong figures given by the bureaucrats sitting in the Food Ministry and says that there is surplus and next year it becomes a scarcity. I tell you, Madam, that from 30 lakh tons the production of sugar came down to 26 lakh tons in 1961-62 and it came to 21.5 lakh tons in 1962-63. In this way within two years there was a reduction of about 13 lakh tons, and the Government of India lost about ₹ 43.7 crore as taxes on the production of sugar; because of this reduction the net loss to the Government of India was about ₹ 43 crore. They say that the scarcity has come about because of the factories; they say that the scarcity has come about because of the industrialists; they say that the scarcity has come about because of the vagaries of nature. Madam, I would say that this scarcity has come about because of the wrong policies of the Government of India; the scarcity has come about because of the lack of foresight in the Food Ministry; the scarcity has come about because either they do not understand the sugar problem or they are misguided by certain vested interests sitting in the Food Ministry.

Now I would like to say what happened due to this wrong policy of the Government of India. Sugarcane was burnt in the States of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar in 1961-62. It is on the record of the U.P. Assembly; the U.P. Government admitted that sugarcane was burnt because it could not be consumed by factories. This question was raised in Parliament and also in the State Assembly. The Union Government came out with the plea that they were not responsible for the consumption of sugarcane, and the cultivators were faced with hardships. But what is happening today? Today they have come up with a rule under the Defence of India Rules that the sugarcane growers should be compelled to give 66 per cent of their produce

to the sugar factories. When there was surplus sugarcane in the fields of the farmers the Government of India had no responsibility for its consumption but when there is less sugarcane and they want to divert it to gur and khandsari, the Government of India comes out with a provision under the Defence of India Rules. And what do they say? They say, if you do not supply cane to the sugar factories you will be prosecuted and you will be sent to jail. There was already a Sugarcane Purchase Act in U.P. but the Government was not satisfied with that Act and a special provision was made under the Defence of India Rules. And what is happening now? In spite of all these Defence of India Rules the sugar factories of Eastern U.P. are not able to get sugarcane to their present capacity. When I tried to raise this matter in this House so many difficulties were created and the hon'ble Food Minister said that only three factories have been affected by short supply of sugarcane. Madam, I have received so many telegrams and these telegrams began to come in the second or third week of November. Since then I have tried to raise this matter in the House. I will just read out one telegram which was sent by the Indian Sugar Mills Association. Calcutta to the Indian Sugar Mills Association here. It was not from any agitator; it was not from a cane grower. It is from the Sugar Mills Association—Secretary or somebody sending it—to the Sugar Mills Association here in Delhi. It reads as follows:

> "Continuation our telegram twenty-ninth ultimo. Understand Vishnu Pratap Sugar Works Khadda, Lakshmi Devi Sugar Mills, Chitauni, Punjab Sugar Mills, Ghuhali, Mahabir Sugar Mills, Siswa Bazar and Seksaria Sugar Mills, Babhnan closed for want of cane supplied due to cane strike while Ramkola Sugar Mills, Ramchand Sons Sugar Mills, Barabanki, Ratna Sugar Mills, Shahganj, Shanker Sugar Mills, Captainganj, Basti Sugar Mills, Walterganj, Madho Mahesh Sugar Mills, Munderwa, Shree Anand Sugar Mills, Labad Ishwari Khetan Sugar Mills, Lakshmiganj Nawabganj Sugar Mills having very unsatisfactory chance supplies. United Provinces Sugar Company, Tamkohi, Orad Padrauna Sugar Works, Kanpur Sugar Works, Kathkuiyan and Gauri Bazar Deoria Sugar Mills, Deoria, Shree Sitaram Sugar Company, Baitalpur, Maheshwari Khetan Sugar Mills Ramkola, Saraya Sugar Factory, Sardarnagar, Ganesh Sugar Mills, Anandnagar, Diamond Sugar Mills, Pipraich, Balrampur Sugar Company, Balrampur and Tulsipur in critical situation due to agitation. Committee apprehend unless immediate action taken ensure adequate cane supplies factories working will become very difficult. Committee therefore urges you kindly intervene and do needful stop Kindly were action taken."

It was on the 2nd December. Here is a telegram that I received at 1 a.m. this morning. It is from Deoria. It reads:—

> "Deoria Baitalpur Factory Growers Stopped Supply 9th—Yuguldeo."

There are so many other telegrams that I have received, but this is a telegram which I received only this morning. Not only that. Newspapers have given various reports. The "Hindustan Times" of November 30 says: "East U.P. Sugar Mills face cane shortage". The "Statesman" of 26th November says. "Sugar Mills in East U.P. postpone crushing operations". The "Indian Express" of 2nd December reported from Lucknow that the sugar mills in Eastern U.P. were facing colapse. But the Food Minister here is sitting silent. We cannot even raise this issue in this House. The factories are not working. Workers are being put to hardship. Cane-growers have to undergo so many difficulties, but for the Food Minister these are minor matters and he wants to assure the country and also this House that the target of 33 lakh tons will be fulfilled in this season. I simply pity this attitude of the Government of India. I was just referring to Eastern U.P. What is the plea of Government? The Government's plea is that they are going to fix the price of sugarcane on the basis of recovery as recommended by the Tariff Commission. Time and again the Food Minister has given a sermon to the growers in Eastern U.P. that they should produce a better quality of sugarcane. I quite agree with that, but there are various difficulties in it. I should like to know whether the Government of India have any machinery to know the rural recovery of sugar. I will just quote here some figures. In Deoria district of U.P. one factory is giving a recovery of 10.3 per cent, while the other factories, which are within a distance of five miles, give a recovery of 9.5 per cent. So, the whole question of recovery should be examined afresh. Leave this question of recovery. I should like to know from the hon'ble Mr. Thomas and the hon'ble Sardar Swaran Singh as to what is happening to Eastern U.P. and Punjab where the recovery is only about 9.02 per cent, the cane-growers are paid ₹ 2 per maund. In Kerala where the recovery is 9.01 per cent the only factory in the State of Mr. Thomas is authorised to pay ₹ 2 per maund to the cane-growers. The other Food Minister, Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, in his own State, in respect of South Bihar factories allowed to pay ₹ 2 per maund. With lowest recovery, the Sugar Mills, Bihta, which is adjacent to the constituency of Dr. Ram Subhag Singh is authorised to pay ₹ 2 per maund for cane. Factories with greater recoveries in North Bihar are not allowed to pay ₹ 2 per maund. Is it justice? Is it fair play? I am forced to come to the conclusion that the Food Ministry is nothing but a gang of social gobblins who are out to loot a certain section of the peasantry in certain parts of the country. What is the plea? Why should not the sugarcane growers in eastern U.P. be allowed to get ₹ 2 per maund?

It is said that factories in eastern U.P. should sell their sugar at cheaper rates. I have no objection. When we raise the issue that the sugar factories are getting much more profit and therefore nationalise these factories then this very Government comes forward and says: "No, they are working on a

very meagre profit. That profit should be allowed." I take their stand to be correct. But then what crime have the factory-owners in eastern U.P. committed? The factory-owners in eastern U.P. are asked to sell their sugar at Rs. 111.5 per quintal, while the sugar magnates in western U.P. ..... are asked to sell their production at Rs. 116.5 per quintal. This is the case. I should like to let this House know that there is a special provision, a peculiar provision. I am speaking in English only because my friends from the South could understand me. There is always a cry that North is exploiting South. But what is happening? If the sugar factories sell their produce here in U.P. for ₹ 116 and the freight charge up to Mysore is ₹ 1 per maund, then the Mysore factories are allowed to have the freight advantage. If sugar factories in U.P. are asked to sell their production at ₹ 116, sugar factories in Mysore are authorised to sell it at ₹ 117. There is always a freight charge when sugar is sent from a surplus area to a deficit area. The advantage of that freight charge is given to the factories situated in the scarcity areas. I know, if I am not wrong that in the case of the Kerala factory, a freight advantage of ₹ 2 per maund is allowed. I do not know what the Government of India really wants. I would like to bring to your notice Madam, that in eastern U.P. alone the sugarcane crushed by factories comes to near about 12.68 crores of maunds. If a sugarcane grower is asked to forego even 20 naya Paisa per maund, then in eastern U.P. the sugarcane growers are asked to forego Rs. $2^1/_2$ crores. The Government of India have come forward with a proposal that the districts of Eastern U.P. are backward and for the economic development of this region a special plan should be made. But the eastern U.P. cane-growers are asked to pay ₹ 2.3 crores for the benefit of other areas. I have no objection to that, but is that benefit going into the pocket of the consumer? No.

Now, I take the case of 'gur'. The hon'ble Food Minister stated yesterday that only 5 lakh tons of 'gur' are exported from the surplus areas. He said that 90 per cent is consumed. I was surprised to hear this statement from a responsible man like the Food Minister. I do not know from where he got the figures. But his whole contention was based on one fact that they take the figures from the railway stations. Only they take into account the rail transport about the export of gur. But another hon'ble Member of the Congress Party has stated his case in the Lok Sabha and he has made clear his experiences about the Railway Department. I challenge the Food Minister to enquire that more than 90 per cent of export is made not by rail but by trucks. The gur production in all India according to the Food Minister is about—I do not exactly remember, but here is the net production of gur in different States: In 1961-62 23,79,000 tons of gur were produced in Uttar Pradesh. The *per capita* gur consumption in the whole of India is 22 lbs. per annum. So I take it that in U.P., a surplus State, the people consume 30 lbs. *per capita*. The total population of U.P. is 6,42,66,506 rural and

94,79,895 urban. It comes to 7,37,46,401. If every single individual in the State consumed 30 lbs. per annum, the total consumption of U.P comes to 10,50,000 tons. What happens to surplus 13,29,000 tons? The Food Minister says that only 5 lakh tons are exported from the gur producing areas. The statistics furnished by the Minister are a colossal distortion of facts. The Food Ministry wants to make us understand that it is giving us the right picture. What is happening, Madam? This gur is being sold in U.P. at ₹ 18 per maund. It is being sold in Delhi at ₹ 32 or ₹ 35 per maund. In Punjab it is more. In Baroda, in Gujarat it is even more. If you take it that only ₹ 10 more is charged from the consumers of the importing States, every ton of gur in U.P. has to lose ₹ 250. The total loss comes to near about ₹ 32 crores. Who is going to get the profit out of it? It is not in the interests of the consumers. The Food Minister wants to make us believe that they are taking all these steps only for the benefit of the consumer. But you will be surprised to know that traders in U.P. are not authorised to export gur. Only traders in Gujarat, Punjab and other States are authorised to import gur. So the traders of Gujarat, Bombay and Punjab want that scarcity conditions should prevail in their States so that they may get more profit. I do not know, I have no proof, but no Government can pursue such a policy unless and until they have some vested interests. One or two officers sitting for years in the Food Ministry are manipulating the whole sugar policy, the whole gur policy of the Government of India. They want us to understand that everything is going on all right. I am sorry to say, Madam, that the Food Ministry is indulging in gigantic bungling and nothing can be done unless and until the whole structure is changed, the whole pattern is altered.

When we plead that there should be less restriction on the export of gur, on the movement of gur, it is in the interests of the consumers of Gujarat, the consumers of Bombay and the consumers of Punjab and also in the interests of the producers of U.P. But they are not going to accede to our demand. They say that we are creating some trouble. The hon'ble Food Minister, for instance, said that some agitators were instigating that there should be no cane supply to the mills. I do not know who these agitators are. But I can show him one hundred pamphlets from the District Congress Committees saying that sugar-cane growers should not supply cane to factories unless they get ₹ 2 per maund for their cane. I want to emphasise only one point that unless and until there is fair play towards the cane-growers in the Eastern U.P. and the gur producers in the Western U.P. no sugar policy of the Government can succeed. In spite of their drawbacks, in spite of their difficulties, U.P. and Bihar are the two States which produce near about half of our requirements of sugar. If the cane growers are not given incentives, if the producer of the raw material is not ready for a willing participation in the whole process of production, I do

not know how the Food Minister thinks that he can achieve the target. For the last one month sugar mill owners have been persuading the Government and the cane growers have been demanding that this wrong policy should be rectified, should be corrected. But the Union Government is not going to hear that. I do not know what the reason is. The only obvious reason I can see is that these two unfortunate States of U.P. and Bihar have two Chief Ministers who are not according to the wishes of the so-called High Command of the Congress here..... and that is why you want to discredit Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani and Shri Krishna Ballabh Sahay. Internal quarrels of the Congress Party are coming in the way of deciding the policy on sugar. I should like to make it clear to the House. I warn the Food Minister that because he has to get the votes from the Punjab, sugar-cane growers must be paid ₹ 2; he has to get votes from Kerala and so he has to pay them ₹ 2.

.....Howsoever glorious your Prime Minister may be, if this policy is not corrected, sugar-cane growers of U.P. will throw this Government out, the Government of the Congress Party. It may not be to your liking, it may not be to my liking, but it is obvious and it is coming in a few years.

So, Madam, I want that this problem should be taken up in this perspective. What is the reason, what is the argument of the Food Ministry that the Eastern U.P. cane growers should not be paid ₹ 2 per maund.

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My main argument is to save democracy and to throw out the Congress Party. I do not want that production should be reduced. I do not want that an anarchic situation should be created. I want that in this emergency this whole policy of the Government, which is based on the obstinacy of the rulers, should be reoriented. The proverbial rulers' obstinacy has entered the mind of the Food Ministry. I cannot help saying that. My only purpose is to show him the reason, to show him the light to come on the right path. If he is not ready to give, I can only pity my own luck, I can only pity the fortune of the Nation, that we have such Food Ministers.

I was dealing with the sugar problem and the gur problem. There is another point which I wish to make. If gur is not sold at remunerative prices it will have its repercussion on the production of sugarcane. If sugarcane is not produced in sufficient quantities, it will have its consequential repercussion on the production of sugar. In the very early years, one of the Reports, of the Tariff Commission said that gur prices influenced cane production. If I remember correctly, the Tariff Commission reported in 1931 that

> "Apart from the effect of climatic conditions on prices and eventually on the area under cane, an examination of the figures, indicates fairly

general cycles of rise and fall in acreage, a large output decreasing the price of gur, thus discouraging the cultivation of cane and eventually restoring the price."

So, I was just pleading with the Government and the Food Minister that if you reduced the gur price in U.P. to an un-remunerative level, the cane growers would be discouraged, and any discouragement to the cane-growers will not be able to give them incentives for more production of sugar, and consequently, your targets of more production will suffer.

Now, I would like to say a few words about the general food policy. The hon'ble Food Minister tried to say that there was nothing to be alarmist about the food situation. Only a few months ago, what happened in West Bengal? My friend, the hon'ble Shri Bhupesh Gupta, made it quite clear that there was an explosive situation in West Bengal. In the daily papers of the country came out this report that people there were taking the law into their hands. It was not the Government of West Bengal, it was not our hon'ble friend, Shri Thomas, who saved the situation or who brought down the price of rice in the markets of Calcutta, but it was the mass organisation of people, it was the force of the people. They broke open the stores they compelled the harders to sell their stocks at proper prices. But the Government says that there is nothing alarming. Not only that. Here is the Third Plan Appraisal and in that report it has been said that plans were made but no plan could be executed properly. Here is the Report of the Intensive Agriculture District Programme. In 1950, this idea was brought before the Government of India that measures should be tackled at a war level and upto 1963, they have only initiated this programme. Nothing could be achieved within four years. The hon'ble Food Minister said that they were importing food material worth ₹ 20 crores from outside. But they are not going to increase the imports. They are trying to increase their own production. But what happened? We were given to understand that the country would be self-sufficient in food in 1952. Then it was said that some more time would be taken. Eleven years have elapsed. Even today we hear the same speech from the hon'ble Food Minister. The Food Minister said, "Four years back, we discussed this food situation." I went through the debates of the Rajya Sabha. I was amusingly surprised to see that the speech of 1959 was just the same as he delivered yesterday. There is no difference in the mood of the Food Minister, there is no difference in the measures. There is no agony, there is no shame on his part. The shame may be on the part of the Prime Minister. The President of the Indian Republic made it clear that our own agricultural production had suffered due to lack of right leadership. Only a few days ago, he made a statement that the whole agricultural production had suffered due to lack of right leadership. I do not know whether that remark was for Sardar Swaran Singh or for

Shri Thomas. These are the leaders who are piloting the Food Ministry in our country. But this remark from the highest personality in the country is enough to show the inefficiency and the hesitation in the implementation of the plans envisaged by the Planning Commission.

The Food Minister yesterday said that the cost of production of agricultural goods had increased. He said that according to that increase, there would be a proportional increase in the prices of foodgrains. It is true. Basically it is true that the foodgrain prices will be increased. But long before, in 1958, the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee suggested some measures. The Government considered those measures. All the machinery is there with the Government. Why were not the foodgrain prices stabilised? Time and again, this thing was emphasised by the experts that there should be some parity between the prices of industrial products and of the agricultural products. No step was taken. Who came in the way in bringing about the parity between agricultural and industrial prices? They hold that production is increasing. Is it sufficient if only we say that a few pounds or a few thousand tons of food production is increasing every year? No. We are adding to our population but in proportion to the addition of population, our agricultural production is not increasing. It is a very alarming situation and if the Food Ministry is not going to take proper measures, an explosive situation may arise in the country at any moment.

Another thing that I would like to point out is that the Government are keeping their stocks at stores in big cities or at certain places. But if they know that there are certain scarcity pockets where scarcity conditions are created, the Government should create their stocks at these points. If the private foodgrain owners and traders charge exorbitant prices and create scarcity for nothing, Government should come into the market. So, stores and stocks should be stored at those points where scarcity conditions are created very often.

Another point that I would like to mention is that production is not the only problem. The problem of distribution is all the more serious and this distribution problem should be tackled in right earnest. The hon'ble Shri Bhupesh Gupta and Shri Vajpayee yesterday referred to certain co-operative societies, the Central Co-operative Society, and that some big man in Delhi was in-charge of the co-operatives.

In Parliament, an hon'ble Member made an admission that this society was indulging in profiteering. He made the submission that the price increase was there because of the bribery given to the railway authorities. I do not know if the statement made by the hon'ble Member in the House is not to be taken cognizance of and the Food Minister says that the Delhi Administration is making some enquiry.

Another alarming point was raised by Shri Vajpayee yesterday that four thousand bags of rice were given to the society to bring them into the market so that the soaring prices might decrease but that two thousand bags were lying in the warehouses. It is a sort of hoarding on the part of co-operatives which is as much objectionable as hoarding by individuals. It is all the more objectionable because it brings a bad name to the co-operative movement. The hon'ble Member, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, went against co-operative movement as a whole because of this sort of inefficient and corrupt working of certain co-operative stores. It is all the more necessary in the interest of the general policies of the Government of India that the Food Minister should take stern action against this co-operative store howsoever.

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Within five minutes I shall finish.

Madam, I was just making the point that if there is any charge of corruption against any co-operative society, it should attract the immediate attention of the Government of India, because it is a matter of policy. If these co-operative stores indulge in corruption, in black-marketing, in profiteering, in hoarding and so on, the whole co-operative institution will be brought to disgrace, and the whole slogan of democratic socialism, the slogan of co-operative commonwealth will come to ridicule. The Government of India, they show no consideration to the high slogans, given by their leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in action, in the implementation of the policy. They should take immediate action and the least they could do was that all licences to this co-operative store should have been cancelled forthwith, and the Government of India and the Food Minister should have made a statement in the House that all licences, whether for gur, or for grain, or for other commodities, given to this co-operative store had been cancelled. But nothing was done, and for five, six days they are making enquiries. But they are doing everything in the case of petty shopkeepers who, for very small offences, are being challaned under the Defence of India Rules. I do not know, if people are not ready to have faith in the intentions of the Government of India, if people are not ready to believe in the utterances of the Food Ministers, if the workers and farmers are not assured that the promises made by the Government of India will be fulfilled, what will happen to our democratic institutions, what will happen to our democratic planning? In this wider perspective the Food Minister should take into consideration all the points raised by me. It is not a small matter that cane-growers in one part of the country are told that they cannot get two rupees per maund because there is no competitor in the market. That is another argument; that argument may be advanced by the Food Minister because in North Bihar and in Eastern U.P. there is no khandsari or gur industry, there is no competition and so the cane-growers there will not be

allowed to have two rupees per maund for their sugarcane. But, Madam, are we going to give them incentives to bring this cottage industry into operation? If they are going to give that facility, it is all right. But under the Defence of India Rules they are banning new crushers coming into being; they say that no new crushers should be installed, and yet they are not paying a remunerative price to the cane-grower. *Kohlus* can be installed only on a co-operative basis and not by any single individual. According to the Defence of India Rules *kohlus* can be installed only if one individual crushes his sugarcane in the *kohlu*. So you have imposed so many limitations in that area, and the peasantry of the area feels frustrated; there is a sense of agony, there is a sense of dissatisfaction, and I submit to the Government of India that they should not be led away by this notion because they have taken a decision, that decision should persist in spite of the opposition from all sides. Even the sugar mills association in that area has asked the Government to fix the sugarcane price at two rupees per maund—and also the Government of U.P. Though they had not come out publicly, they have made the suggestion, they have made the representation many a time that sugarcane growers of this area should be given due consideration, I submit to the Food Minister that, if you want to increase food production, if you want to increase production of sugar, if you want to export more sugar for earning more foreign exchange, the only way is that you must satisfy the producer of the raw material—you must satisfy the cane-grower; you must satisfy the persons who are engaged in this industry. Unless and until you take these steps, nothing tangible can be expected. Willing participation of the people, willing participation of the peasantry, willing participation of the workers can bring more production, and more production will bring more foreign exchange. But I am sorry to say that, in spite of requests from all quarters, it is not done. What is the reason? I want to understand the reason. I was given to understand one point. A very notable person met one high official in the Food Ministry in the Directorate of Sugar, and that man said, because of political reasons, we are not going to concede this demand. What is the political reason? I do not understand. I cannot quote the name of the man, but he is a man sitting in the Directorate of Sugar.

I do not yield. I believe in reciprocity in politics. Yesterday you did not yield. So I do not yield today.

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....Why should the allegation be withdrawn? I stand by the allegation, and that allegation has not been made once or twice, but many times. In 1959 the hon'ble Professor Shri Shibbanlal Saksena, a Member of Parliament made allegations against certain persons. It is in writing, and if the hon'ble

Food Minister wants, I can quote it. But I am not going to divulge the source of my information. If the hon'ble Minister wants that I should not make any allegation against the Directorate of Sugar, I am not going to accede to this demand of the Minister that I should withdraw the allegation. Rather with all sense of responsibility and with all the emphasis at my command, I demand that a commission should be appointed to enquire into the whole working of the Sugar Directorate of the Government of India. I have reasons to believe that persons sitting there are in close collusion with the traders in other States; they are in close collusion with certain persons who want that the eastern U.P. factories should be destroyed, that they should be shifted to certain other areas. I have reasons to believe it and I demand an impartial commission, and if the hon'ble Minister is ready to constitute such an enquiry, I shall be too willing to give evidence before that committee or that commission, that certain persons in the Directorate of Food and Sugar are indulging in all sorts of racket. In this connection I refer to the remark that was made by the Prime Minister in 1949 and I want to emphasise that if the Prime Minister is sincere that the sugar racket should be exposed, he should be ready to institute an enquiry into the whole functioning of the Food Ministry and, in particular, into the whole functioning of the Directorate of Sugar.

THE FOOD PROBLEM IN UTTAR PRADESH*

Vice-Chairman Sir, in the beginning of the discussion on food problem, my friend hon'ble Shri Gurupad Swamyji raised some questions and I am surprised to see that some of my socialist colleagues and my friend hon'ble Shri Bhupesh Gupta has also not found them appropriate. Hon'ble Shri Swamyji said that a country having backward economy has to face some difficulties initially in its development and the prices also go up along with development. I don't think it will create any dispute. Everybody knows that price increase occurs when developmental work is undertaken in a backward economy. But the problem arises when prices become so high in a particular area which affects the developmental work as well as the whole society.

The second point made by hon'ble Swamyji was that some difficulties and disturbances occur when we move from an old society to a new one. But I was surprised when hon'ble Prof. Mukut Bihari Lalji said that those who think that some disturbances take place when moving to a new society from an old society, do not have the right to remain in power. Being a student of political science, I think that anybody having faith in socialist ideas and understanding of the concept of a socialist society, appreciates that some difficulties are faced in going to a new society from the earlier one and no society can march ahead towards progress without understanding these difficulties.

Today, our country is suffering from food scarcity. This problem can be understood from two-three viewpoints. Firstly, the problem is not new for the country as it has always existed in the form of drought in some areas every year. From the British regime to post independence days, this problem has always been there that the country might face famine, for which some measures should be taken. Sir, in 1952-53, such a situation arose that control was lifted from foodgrains. If we assess the situation one year before and 4 years after this period, we will find that the businessmen of our country played havoc with the food problem.

Right from the year 1930, the Congress Party has been saying that there is food scarcity in the country and the solution to the problem is that the

* Participating in the discussion on "Motion regarding Food Situation"; Rajya Sabha Debate, 21 September, 1964, *cc*. 2289-2303 (Originally in Hindi).

person who tills the land and cultivates it, should be given the ownership. This has been said not once but many times right from the pre-independence era to the attainment of freedom. In 1936-37, it was reiterated that the work regarding land reforms should be expedited. Even after implementing the five year plans after 1947, it was said that the production would be increased with the land reform process picking up. But I could not understand even today the reasons for hindrances cropping up. Today, there are several States in the country which have not completed the work regarding land reforms. After the Second Five Year Plan, when a commission was set up to deal with the problem of food scarcity, it recommended that land reforms should be implemented speedily. The Congress Party also said in its motions that land should be divided again and its ownership should be given to those who cultivate it. But the landlords pressurized the Government and the bureaucrats who make government policies and as a result the work regarding land reforms remains incomplete.

Similarly, my several colleagues oppose cooperative farming. The Congress Party says that this issue should be above party politics. But I would like to submit, through you, that only we cannot solve the problem of land in the present circumstances.

I had mentioned about my friends who were opposing cooperative farming while participating in the debate on Co-operatives earlier. I was surprised when Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee said that he was not against cooperative farming, but when participating in the discussion over the issue, he said that we should keep a close watch on the cooperative movement as it will not last long in the country. How is it opposed? Keeping in view the progress of the society, our friends from Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party can not oppose the cooperative movement openly, but the people with vested interests want them to oppose the movement.

Sir, if the land reform does not take place in the country, how will the production of foodgrains increase? The Government promised to provide fertilizers to the farmers by increasing its production. The experts are of the view that 30 pounds nitrogen and 15 pounds phosphate is required for an acre of irrigated land. Schemes were formulated to provide fertilizers to the farmers. I remember that farmers were told that they would be provided fertilizers from Sindri plant. It was said with pride that Sindri plant will change the scenario and the problem of foodgrains will be solved. Sir, I visited the Sindri plant with you a month back. But the same can't be said about the plant with so much authority. I do not know whether the plant has become a matter of shame for the entire country due to the wrong policies of the Government or officers posted there. Our expectations are shortly going to be falsified. The scenario is very disappointing, the same can be said about the new fertilizers plants being set up. Sir, a

scheme to set up a fertilizer plant has been going on for the last three years on which lakhs of rupees are being spent monthly and officials have also been recruited. Land has also been acquired for the same recently. In reply to a question, it was said that there is shortage of cement for construction work, but you can get as much cement as required from the same factory in black. The Government should concentrate on the development or progress made in regard to the fertilizers plants being set up in Gorakhpur and Maharashtra. If the production of fertilisers does not increase, the yield will not increase further. The lesser one says in respect to the work being done there, the better it would be. Similarly there is no co-ordination in respect of the irrigation schemes. We hear in the House that the Government of Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi are not planning jointly. As a result, on one hand, the irrigation schemes are going waste and on the other, the water logging problem from the floods plays havoc in the country.

Land reform is a separate issue and it is disputed. Now, a new slogan is being raised to implement law of giving land on lease. We have heard and are surprised to know that the Government is consulting various State Governments to grant the right of giving land on lease again. Who is pressurizing the Government? Certainly, the landlords who are not toiling on their land are putting pressure on the Government. They are doing business and arguing that the production will not increase unless the Government implements the law of giving land on lease again. Can an economy run in this way and agricultural production increase? I would like to submit that production will not increase by this. If we have to increase the production, then process of land reforms should be undertaken expeditiously. If production is to be increased, the farmers should be provided fertilizers and a cooperative movement should be initiated in farming sector. Today 70% farmers have 1-2 acre land only. They can't progress unless they learn to work together towards scientific farming.

Along with this, the issue of community development schemes also comes to the mind. The hon'ble Minister of Community Development was giving reply to the questions today. It has been said several times that community development schemes do not work properly in agricultural sector. When Foodgrains Enquiry Committee was set up in 1957, the Committee said that Community Development Schemes could not meet the expectations. It was expected that these schemes will be useful in the coming days. But even today these schemes look like an economic burden to us and have not contributed to any development in the farming sector.

In 1953, when the de-control regime was put in place, the Government said—the control will be lifted in a phased manner in order to remove its ill-effects. But it will be kept in mind that business is not monopolized by

capitalists and speculation does not affect the common man. Then, during the four years from 1953 to 1956, the control was lifted gradually and the prices of foodgrains fell during these years. In 1956, the moment the decontrol process was completed, the prices started rising again. In 1952-53, the businessmen brought down the prices deliberately. At that time, a slogan was raised that if the control regime is removed the society will prosper. I do not want to blame anybody, but I would like to say that a big mistake was committed in 1953 by decontrolling the regime in planned economy. When buffer stock was maintained and when there was control over business, all of a sudden, control was lifted and from 1956, we started to play in the hands of speculators. Since then, the situation has been constantly getting worse. What is the situation today? Today, it is being said here that there should not be any control over foodgrains. When the new Food Minister took over, we had high hopes from him. In a conference of Chief Ministers held in Delhi, he said that the trade of foodgrains will be done across the States, but I do not know what happened thereafter due to which it could not materialize. I was surprised to see that Shri Rajgopalachariji and my friends from Jan Sangh favour setting up of State Trading Corporation.

.....The people from *Jan Sangh* and *Swatantrata Party* would say that State Trading Scheme should be done away with forever as it proved unsuccessful. You know the moment the matter regarding setting up a State Trading Corporation came into light, Shri Rajgopalachariji wrote in *'Swarajya',* Newspaper dated 4th August that the Food Minister was doing the same thing which had been considered appropriate by the *Swatantrata Party* and has always been propagated by it.

.....Shri Rajaji wrote in *'Swarajya'* dated 4th August that he supported hon'ble Subramaniamji and that he echoed his views on State Trading Corporation. *Jan Sangh* also wrote in *'Organiser'* newspaper dated 7th August that they also support it. Hon'ble Subramaniamji said a right thing. Now see what Munshiji* has said while moving a motion in regard to food scarcity in the meeting of *Swatantrata Party.* It was published in the newspaper dated 2nd August. It was said therein:—

> "It was a resolution which was moved by Mr. K.M. Munshi, a former Food Minister, opposing the move towards State trading and the imposition of a ceiling on individual land holdings and it said farmers should be allowed to hold bigger and economic holdings to help them increase the production."

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* Shri K.M. Munshi, M.P.

I was saying that the only way to impose control over this business would be that the Government takes over the trade of foodgrains in its hand. No Country, State or Government can tolerate such kind of threat as has been given by the businessmen in their meeting held yesterday in Delhi.

I was surprised when the Food Ministry seized 80 Lakh kilos of foodgrains in Delhi some days ago and it was said that they did a commendable job. But after three days, it was said that it was just a verification of stock. The Government should shun such lackadaisical policy.

Sir, with your permission, I will take 2-4 minutes more to talk about Uttar Pradesh. You will forgive me if I say that it is unfortunate that injustice has been done with Uttar Pradesh. Today, when the hon'ble Food Minister was giving reply to the questions, he said that the Government keeps in view the yield, population and requirement of a State while allocating quota to the concerned State. If you take the last 3 years yield of Uttar Pradesh in consideration, you will find that the yield has declined every year. In 1960-61, 142.53 lakh tonnes of foodgrains was produced in Uttar Pradesh whereas the production was 138.35 lakh tonnes, 132.79 lakh tonnes and 116.18 lakh tonnes in 1961-62, 1962-63 and 1963-64 respectively. So, today there is a shortfall of 40.33 lakh tonnes in Uttar Pradesh. When a demand was made to allocate quota for Uttar Pradesh, the then Food Minister hon'ble Swarn Singhji made a promise. Earlier, 68 thousand tonnes used to be allocated to flour mills and 25 thousand tonnes to five big cities including Bareilly and Meerut. Besides, 1 lakh tonnes of foodgrains was given to the State Government. But, suddenly the new Food Minister says that no such promise was made and he could not meet the requirement and he promised to provide 1 lakh 5 thousand tonnes of foodgrains per month. But the same quota was also not given. I do not have time to go into details but the Government of Uttar Pradesh was cheated between June to August 1964. The U.P. Government could not provide required quota to the Fair Price Shops opened in June as full quota was not given to Uttar Pradesh which should have been given to it. I would like to know from the Food Minister how he will meet the shortage of entire Uttar Pradesh with the remaining 45 thousand tonnes out of 1 lakh 5 thousand tonnes of foodgrains as 60 thousand tonnes of foodgrains is required for 'KAVAL' towns Kanpur, Agra, Varanasi, Allahabad and Lucknow along with two major cities only. According to the report of Patel Commission constituted by the Union Government, there was a shortage of about 4 lakh tonnes of foodgrains in four districts namely, Deoria, Azamgarh, Jaunpur and Ghazipur in 1960-61 and the situation got worsened in 1962-63. Today, the situation is that 25 per cent. loss was suffered as claimed by Uttar Pradesh Government. If you do not agree with it, then at least, the damage was 20 per cent.

resulting in shortage of three or three and half lakh tonnes of foodgrains. So, 7 or 8 lakh tonnes of foodgrains are required only for 4 eastern districts. Now, tell me, is this quota of 45 thousand tonne per month sufficient? What is the situation of Uttar Pradesh today? According to a news published in today's 'The Times of India', rice is being sold at the rate of ₹ 140/- per quintal in hilly areas and ₹ 120/- per quintal in Dehradun city. According to 'Statesman', wheat is being sold at the rate of ₹ 105/- per quintal in Allahabad city. This is the situation of Uttar Pradesh. I do not have time to read it but the pamphlet issued by the Food Ministry says that the prices are ₹ 104/- per quintal in Bombay and ₹ 87/- per quintal in Saharanpur. How do I tell about the bad condition of Uttar Pradesh in the month of September.

Sir, I would like to tell you that today is 21st September and till date, out of 1 lakh 5 thousand tonnes only 33 thousand 293 tonnes of foodgrains have been sent to Uttar Pradesh. I charge this Government for deliberately harming Uttar Pradesh. I think that the hon'ble Food Minister and top officers of the Centre are annoyed with the officials of Uttar Pradesh. There are some other ways to remove it, but I request you not to make a mockery in the name of poor agricultural labourers and hungry people. Till 21st September, only 33 thousand tonnes of foodgrains have been received. Take the example of Bareilly godowns. No foodgrains are available there. Recently, they have sent 541 tonnes of foodgrains there but it had not reached Bareilly till yesterday. Now tell me, does Subramaniam Saheb has any answer in view of these circumstances and figures?

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Only 33 thousand tonnes have been released by 21st September. If you permit me, I would like to tell you the dates alongwith the quantum of foodgrains sent from Kandla, Visakhapattnam and Calcutta ports. On one hand, this Government is playing with the sentiments of the people of Uttar Pradesh and on the other hand, when I spoke to the U.P. Government officials.....

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The Collector of Azamgarh has asked the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh that if he could not provide wheat, molasses should be provided. When I asked the Chief Minister about the same, he said, yes, molasses are being sent to them. Not only this, Sir, the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh has asked the Chief Minister of Punjab to provide 5 thousand tonnes broken rice to Uttar Pradesh, which is used to feed animals. Ramkrishan Saheb promised, but the Food Minister, Subramaniam Saheb went to Chandigarh and ordered to send only 2 thousand tonnes instead of 5 thousand tonnes. The Government of Punjab has agreed to provide 25 thousand tonnes of wheat to Uttar Pradesh

at the instance of hon'ble Lal Bahadur Shastri. At this, Subramaniam Saheb wrote to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh whether he has any right to speak to the Chief Ministers of Punjab and Madhya Pradesh directly. After that, he went there and got a letter written by the Chief Minister of Punjab that they could provide only 20 thousand tonnes instead of 25 thousand tonnes and that too through the Union Government.

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Sir, I will conclude by making one more point. This Government will continue to function but remember, you can't ruin the people of Uttar Pradesh. I would like to tell my Congress friends that if they do not put their points before the country, and put forth their demands in the Parliament and to the Government, then think about the situation in the coming days. Hon'ble Vajpayeeji said that famine might occur, but I have seen people starving. I wrote a letter to hon'ble Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri to find an appropriate solution to overcome the situation. I was told that a solution to the problem had been found out. The solution is that quota has been reduced to half. The Government of Uttar Pradesh had demanded 2 lakh tonnes of foodgrains and 1 lakh 5 thousand tonnes has been allocated. There are 9 days left and till now, only 33 thousand tonnes have been sent by the Government.

In the end, Sir, I would like to say that the Government, which is not aware of the situation and requirement of a particular area, has no right to remain in power. I would like to say, especially to Shri Subramaniam Saheb and like to quote a book, which I can't do right now. The book is "Worldwide wheat planning and economic planning in general".* Just go through the preface, first page and the first paragraph to know what happened in the time of Socrates. The brother of Plato approached Socrates to get his support to become the Governor of Athens. Socrates asked him about the number of sepoys as well as the cantonments in Athens. He replied that he did not know about this. He asked 3-4 more questions. At last, he asked how much foodgrains are required for Athens? He said:— "I do not know". Then Socrates said. The king who does not know the quantum of foodgrains required for his Kingdom has no right to be called Statesman. The Government, and the Minister who do not know the condition of Dehradun valley and what is happening in Azamgarh, Deoria, Ballia etc., do not have right to remain in power. Three days back, the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh said that injustice has been done with U.P. So, I would like to say particularly to the members of Uttar Pradesh and the whole House in general that they may consider the condition of Uttar Pradesh. The problem of food scarcity can not be solved until the just demands of the people are met.

* By Paul de hevesy, London, 1939.

Sir, I believe that the Food Minister would investigate the charges levelled by me. Last year, I said that the Food Ministry works against the Uttar Pradesh. I said this at the time of gur movement. At that time, Thomas Saheb and another Minister, Sardar Swarn Singh who has become Minister of External Affairs now said that control will not be lifted over gur under any circumstances, but it was lifted and the Uttar Pradesh got ruined. Similarly, the food policy will change after the Uttar Pradesh is ruined. Thank you.

ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1964*

Sir, at the very outset, I would like to make it clear that I am in favour of all the steps proposed to be taken against hoarders and profiteers, but the way this Ordinance has been brought and the way the rules framed by the Government have been implemented earlier, creates confusion as to how far these rules would be implemented and with this view, I would like to congratulate hon'ble Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee that despite being associated with and being a leader of a party like *Jan Sangh,* he sometimes makes good points.

I was saying so because like Shri Vajpayeeji, even I could not understand the particular reason to bring this Ordinance on 5 November. Just now, hon'ble Member, who spoke earlier and hon'ble Akbar Ali Khan Saheb, whom we respect very much, tried to point out that perhaps it was not required earlier and its necessity was felt on 5 November. Sir, last time when the Parliament was in session, I had told you and the House is also aware that two news came together. One was that armymen from Uttarakhand region in Uttar Pradesh were giving a part of their ration to the starving people and the other news was that the rice from our country was being exported stealthily to Nepal and to Tibet *via* Uttarakhand. The Parliament was in session at that time and it was clear to the Government, but it was not considered necessary that an Ordinance of this kind should be promulgated. The Food Minister and the Prime Minister said in the last session that they were trying to overcome the situation and the situation was improving. It is clear from this Ordinance that since the last session and uptil 5th November, food situation has deteriorated. The tendency of hoarding and profiteering has increased and the Government has been forced to promulgate such an Ordinance. But why was this Ordinance required? Whether other options were explored by the Government? Hon'ble Food Minister rightly said that it is not necessary to use other options all the time. Options may be used anytime, hence it is necessary to keep the options open. But, Sir, the exhibition of weapons is not necessary at every time. Weapons are kept handy and these are taken out for use as and when required. But if the weapons are flashed every time, then it means that there is no intention to use the weapons. My allegation is that the laws

* Participating in the Discussion on "Essential Commodities (Amendment) Ordinance, 1964 and Essential Commodities (Amendment) Bill, 1964"; Rajya Sabha Debate, 15 December 1964; cc. 3865-3878 (Originally in Hindi).

enacted by this Government are not enacted for implementation. Many a time the statements made here are not implemented. Such announcements are made from time to time to turn and divert the wave of growing dissatisfaction. Sir, I would like to remind hon'ble Food Minister of a quadruplet (Chaupai) by Tulsidas:

"Soor Samar Karni Karhin
Kahi Na Janavhi Aap
Vidyaman Ran Pai Ke
Kaayar Karhin Pralap"

"In the battlefield, the brave is known by his chivalry. But faced with the same situation the coward only talks too high." What Tulsidasji said is turning out to be true in case of the present Government. If one takes into consideration all the statements made by the Food Minister and all the statements of Prime Minister and tries to make a gist, it seems that they want to talk through the forum of Parliament and newspapers, but they do not want to do anything and if they intend to do something, then they do not have the capability to do so. Parliament should think carefully before handing over the powers to such a Government which does not have the capability to enforce the law. Just as giving an atom bomb to a person, who does not know how to use it, can kill him, similarly giving more powers to the Government which can not enforce its enacted laws indicates that the Government is likely to steer the country as well as the House into such a situation where the common people begin to think that these statements, laws enacted by the Parliament are of no use. Hon'ble Akbar Ali Khan is not present here. I wanted to tell him that when this Ordinance was promulgated on 5th November, I had gone through the statement made by hon'ble Lal Bahadur Shastriji with great confidence wherein he had said that all required powers have been given to the officers, but if the situation does not improve despite all this, then they will be held responsible. Whether Food Minister would say after 5th November that hoarding has reduced and profiteering has also reduced? Whether traders have extended cooperation? So far as the traders are concerned, one of our hon'ble members has just said that we should have faith in our old traditions and if we have faith then it may be ensured and assured that those powers would not be misused. Sir, through you, I would like to tell the House about the people against whom Defence of India rules were used. Small scale shopkeepers and hundreds of businessmen with an investment of ₹ 1000/- were sent to jail in every State or cases were registered against them. I do not know whether any rationing Inspector or Clerk was sued or not, but no law applies to a high ranking person, a hoarder or a person who wants to cause damage to the economy of entire country. Stocks were seized in Delhi. The Commissioner of Delhi and the spokesperson of Food Ministry issued statements that they had achieved a big success. It came to be known after

three days that it was simply verification of stock. Then it creates doubt as to how the law would be enforced? Defence of India Rules (D.I.R.) were enforced in their case as well as in the case of members of Joint Socialist Party. I have raised this issue earlier also. They staged a demonstration that the situation with regard to foodgrain was bad in Bihar. An M.L.A, Shri Ramanand Tiwari was lathicharged. He was beaten publicly and put behind bars in Arrah or Buxar and to top it all, he was detained under D.I.R. The Chief Minister said about the Magistrate, who had beaten him, that he was not present there. It was proved by his enquiry. Sir, I know that Magistrate. One day while travelling by a first class saloon of a steamer, he said that hon'ble Baliram Bhagat, hon'ble Ram Subhag Singh, hon'ble Jagjivan Ram, hon'ble Sumitra Sinha and other Ministers were dishonest and corrupt. They take bribes. Apart from taking bribe and indulging in dishonest activities, they do nothing. I wrote a letter to hon'ble Krishna Ballabh Sahai in March. I was asked to come to Patna and make a statement about what I wanted to say in that matter. I went there to make a statement. My friends asked me not to go there. I said that I will go. And when the Magistrate began to record my statement, I said, Sir, can you tell me as to what connection do I have with this Magistrate. I have not been closely associated with Bihar as such. I do not know this person. I do not know anything that has happened with Ministers. But this very person assaults a social worker, Shri Ramanand Tiwari and an M.L.A. At this, the Chief Minister says that he has done a good job because Shri Ramanand Tiwari was saying that food situation was bad.

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I feel that it is not an individual case. It may be an individual case for hon'ble Sapruji, but if a leader of a political party is arrested under Defence of India Rules and he is victimised, then it becomes as much a public issue for us as it is to save the Government or show sympathy with the Government. It may be an issue of public interest for hon'ble Sapruji. He considers it a matter of pride to praise the government. I deem it my duty to defend a citizen of a state and ensure that his rights are not violated.

Sir, secondly, I want to say as to why the Government does not take any step to implement the measures announced by it. As hon'ble Vajpayeeji said that not a single case has been registered so far under this law. Does it mean that after 5th November, we should understand that hoarding has been stopped in the country? Whether after this Ordinance, the businessmen have started cooperating with the Government? It did not happen and not after 5th November. It did not happen because the government machinery through which the Ordinance was promulgated by the hon'ble Food Minister is still not ready after two months' time. The situation is much the same on 15th December as it was on 5th November. There is no difference between

the two and hon'ble Food Minister should keep in mind the nature of machinery available to enforce the rules and laws enacted by him. I would not call this machinery corrupt, but it has become ineffective. Just now an hon'ble Member said that if a person is arrested illegally under this Act, then a writ can be filed under an Article 226 of the Constitution. I am not aware of law. I am not an advocate as well. But Article 226 of the Constitution can not perhaps be applied to such cases because no High Court, unless there is a violation of Act or fundamental right, can admit any writ under Article 226.

One more point was made with much fanfare — Food Minister also said—that these powers are given to the judiciary. When hearing of cases is conducted summarily, then judiciary has no opportunity to express its opinion. A man is arrested, one rationing inspector or two officers give their witness, arguments are made and sentence is awarded. Complete details are neither placed before judiciary nor witnesses from either sides are presented. There is no opportunity to defend oneself in summary trials and this meaning is conveyed by its name also. In this regard, I would say that the powers given to the Government by the Parliament are misused in this country. However, the bigger danger than this which I can see is that the Government would do nothing even after having these powers. If the government fails, then our Food Minister would say something else in the forthcoming Budget Session in February. As we had been told in the last session that the Government had overcome food situation. However, on 5th November, an Ordinance was promulgated which has been presented in Parliament today. Now, it is being said in this regard that the Government is going to take strict steps with regard to foodgrains. Hon'ble Shri Akbar Ali Khan has said that a message should be conveyed to the country that the Parliament is unanimous regarding corruption, hoarding and any type of adulteration. I would like to urge upon hon'ble Minister most humbly that such a feeling should be created in the country that the discussion held and decision taken in Parliament are effective. The Government is keen to implement these rules. But if decisions taken in Parliament are not implemented, then a feeling of disappointment and hopelessness spreads among the masses. The result of this disappointment and hopelessness is that the very mentality and tendency which is sought to be curbed through legislation, grows stronger.

My biggest opposition to promulgation of this Ordinance is that if the Government does not use it even after having framed it, there would be nothing left for the relief of the oppressed masses of the country.

I would like to say one more thing to the Food Minister whether he thinks that the problem of hoarding, profiteering will get solved by giving some months punishment or imposing penalty on some people? Just now,

hon'ble Shri Vajpayeeji made mention of a cartoon. I want to say that so far as food problem is concerned, why does not the Government adopt strong policy and take a firm decision? Whether the Government wants to solve such a big problem by implementing punitive measures or enacting ordinary laws. If the Government is willing to solve the problem, then it should tell the country and Parliament and declare that it committed the biggest mistake in 1953 when it said that the Government wants to implement policy for uncontrolled market in phased manner by lifting control. The then Food Minister is no more and I would not say anything about him. If you consider the food policy from 1953 to 1955, what happened at that time? We have used the stock of foodgrains and capital we had at that time and this type of mindset has been created in the country that the country would be prosperous if these controls are lifted. Sir, I would like to make another point regarding the period from 1953 to 1955. During this period, a time came when the crop was damaged. But even then, the prices of food did not increase. Why did it not increase? It was so because there was a partial control and the traders indulged in such manipulation that control should be removed fully. The prices increased as the control was lifted. At the end of 1955 or 1956, I am not sure but I am telling you as per my memory and I can not mention a certain date the prices had started rising. Unfortunately, the then Food Minister is no more. It is said that the best policy with regard to food was framed in the country in these two years. But I am sorry to say that this is not right. In my view, an attempt was made to divert the thinking of the people of the country in the wrong direction. Any underdeveloped or backward country or any country with 40 per cent or 50 per cent starved or semi-starved people would have more consumption of foodgrains along with economic development and people will spend more money on foodgrains and at the same time there will be shortage of foodgrains also. At such a time, removing control from the foodgrains in a planned economy would be a serious mistake and such a mistake was committed at that time. It is still being reiterated that from 1953 to 1955, such a policy was adopted whereby the food problem had been solved. Sir, I would like to submit that an effort is not being made to solve this problem, rather attention of public is being diverted from this problem. Some people publicise that Government of India is not adopting food policy which had been adopted by the Government from 1953 to 1955 and thus, we are facing its consequences. The result of this publicity campaign is that the country is suffering a loss, not only in material but also in spiritual form. Today, the mentality of the entire country is changing and this Government that calls itself socialist and has faith in planned economy, sometimes begins to think whether all this problem is due to controls? That's why, it does not order for complete control. I would like to say to the hon'ble Minister that there is no way out except taking

control of all food trade. There are difficulties and problems and the machinery is corrupt, but there is no other way. We should solve this problem even if it takes six months, eight months or more than that. Our hon'ble Minister should tell the country as well as Parliament that he may overcome these difficulties in eight to ten months. If Government take all business of food under its control, there may be corruption in bureaucracy and it may not have the capability to handle such a job. But the whole country will have to tolerate difficulties for eight months and will have to strive for a bright future. But this Government is not ready to take such a step with courage. Food Minister is unable to take such a step with courage. The reason is that the situation which the Food Minister has inherited and the people with vested interests around him stop him from taking such a step. Sir, such people with vested interests put pressure on the Food Minister and sometimes the Minister slips and thinks positive and gives right opinion, but when the opportunity arises, he asks the House to pass the Ordinance instead of making announcement regarding imposing Government control over foodgrains. It is said that the Government will open fair price shops and he, who does not follow rules, will get three months punishment. The country is being misled in this manner and a confusion is being created among the masses regarding these problems. As a common man, I want to warn the Government that you can talk like this for two months, three months and four months and for a year, and can adopt lackadaisical approach, but the Government can not deceive the people of the country. The only way out is what I have suggested. By adopting lackadaisical approach, you are not doing justice to the country and the society. The Government should take the responsibility to provide food to one and all. If our hon'ble Member, Shri Akbar Ali Khan Saheb had come forward with this message that each and every Member of Parliament would have to cooperate in this regard, then our colleagues and I would have cooperated with the Government happily.

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.....Hence, with due respect, I would like to submit to the Food Minister that this problem may be solved in near future only otherwise such Ordinances, rules and sub-rules would be of no use.

Thank you.

DEVELOPMENT OF AGRO INDUSTRIES*

Madam, I would like to congratulate the mover of this resolution, as he has provided us an opportunity to discuss this subject in the House.

Several Members have expressed their views on this subject and keeping in view the increasing population and unemployment in the country, this problem becomes more important for us. As per census of 1961, out of 43.90 crore people of our country, 42.98 per cent are job seekers whom we can term as the working force of India. Out of them, 57 per cent are male and 28 per cent are female. As per estimates, 1.70 crore more people will be added to the working force during the Third Five Year Plan, 2.30 crore during the Fourth Five Year Plan and 3 crore during the Fifth Five Year Plan. Subsequently, an expert committee was constituted, which has submitted its report recently and as per the report, these estimates will be correct for the Fifth Five Year Plan but some variation may be there in these estimates by the end of the Third Five Year Plan. It means that the strength of workforce will be more than the estimated number. My colleague, Shri Mohan Dhariaji has pointed out as to how the problem of unemployment is going to aggravate during the Third and Fourth Five Year Plan. He cited the instance of Maharashtra.

If I draw the attention of the House towards the condition of Uttar Pradesh, you would be surprised to hear about that. The number of job seekers will increase by 27.30 lakh by the end of the Third Five Year Plan in Uttar Pradesh and this number will further rise to 35.10 lakh during the Fourth Five Year Plan and to 47.50 lakh during the Fifth Five Year Plan. Uttar Pradesh is basically dependent on agriculture where industrial development is negligible. The State will face deep crisis, if we do not make efforts to improve agriculture and ago-industries in the State.

Which industries are there in Uttar Pradesh? Sir, I am talking about your State and through you, I would like to draw the attention of the Government that there is only one industry *i.e.* sugar industry in Uttar Pradesh. Uttar Pradesh had a place of pride in the entire country for promoting sugar industry as 50 per cent of the sugar produced in the country is being

* Participating in the discussion on "Committee to suggest ways and means to develop Agro-Industries in the Country"; Rajya Sabha Debate, 5 March 1965, *cc.* 2293-2300 (Originally in Hindi).

supplied by this State only. But with the passage of time sugar industry of Uttar Pradesh started declining. We have been demanding this for the last ten years that sugar industrialists should be asked to adopt modern techniques to run sugar mills or the Government should take over this industry.

Same demand was made three years ago towards which hon'ble Shri Dharia* has drawn our attention. I am very thankful to him for making my job easy. If cooperative agricultural industries and cooperative sugar factories can run on profit and change the economic profit of Maharashtra, then Sir, why can't it be done in Uttar Pradesh. Why this model cannot be replicated in Uttar Pradesh? It has been our demand for the last five years that if the industrialists do not try to run the industries properly in Uttar Pradesh and do not bring about improvement in their functioning, the Government should take it in its own hands. It is the job of the Central Government. Whenever this matter is raised with the Government of Uttar Pradesh it says that this work falls under the jurisdiction of Union Government and only the Central Government can do it. However, I am very sorry to say that our Prime Minister who hails from the same State and the Union Minister of Industries who also hails from the same State do not make any effort to go through the papers prepared by the Planning Commission and by their ministries. I shudder to think about the fate of this land of river Ganga and Jamuna in the next ten years. It will be a land of unemployed, starving and uneducated people. I would not like to dwell on this for long, but I would like to demand that if we want to promote agro industries, then the first step to be taken by the Government is to bring the sugar industry into the fold of cooperative sector. There is no other way out.

Sir, on this occasion, I would also like to bring to your notice one more point. It is true as has been stated by our colleague, Shri Mohan Dharia that there is a need to set up industrial estates at various places. I also agree with the report of the Committee constituted in this regard. This needs to be done. Pilot projects should be initiated but this Motion assumes importance in view of the steps taken with regard to the policies formulated by the Government during the last five to seven years. Till date, the most important work done for promoting cottage industries is the constitution of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC). Why was KVIC constituted—so that this work could be promoted in villages? If at all, I would like to draw your attention, I would say that Mahatma Gandhi had launched a movement in 1945 after his release from jail which was a movement of service to all. At that time he had said and I am relying on my memory for recollecting what he said. He moved a proposal in Akhil

* Referring to Shri Mohan Dharia, M.P.

Bhartiya Charkha Sangh and the objective of that proposal was to promote cooperative institutions for running the khadi and rural industries. It was also proposed therein that these industries should only be set up in the places where raw material could easily be made available for them. I remember that one of the para of that proposal had this underlying theme that the use of spinning wheel can only increase in those places where cotton production could also be increased. I would like to know whether KVIC has fulfilled its objective and whether it has moved ahead in that direction during the last 10-15 years. I would like to say through you — I am also sorry that Hon'ble Devkinandan Narayanji is not present here but I would like to draw the attention of the Government towards it. The hon'ble Minister is present here. A report had been prepared about the working of Khadi and Village Industries Commission in 1960. This report was presented by Dr. Gyan Chand. The report had disclosed that the KVIC has failed to achieve any of its objectives. In those days, the Commission had claimed to provide employment to 14 to 16 lakh people. But this report states that only around 70 or 75 thousand people get employment from the KVIC. We need not go far behind. It was stated by the Estimates Committee in 1963-64 that in 1950, khadi worth 75 paise was produced at the cost of ₹ 1. But it was the impact of either this planning or the industries of Shri Baikunth Bhai and Shri Dhaivar Bhai that now-a-days khadi worth 40 paise is produced at the cost of ₹ 1. Our friend has mentioned that less money is allocated. No doubt, the money is less but in Third Five Year Plan, ₹ 92 crore had been allocated to the Khadi Commission and you can go through the reports of the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee to assess the results of that allocation. We, who clothe ourselves in khadi, feel ashamed to say that a substantial portion of this allocation is wasted.

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*Sir, please go through the report which claims that just 75,000 people are employed by the Commission. This may be wrong, but this is the report of the Government. So, I would like to ask as to what the Government is going to do about this amount of ₹ 92 crore which has been spent? You may leave this money which has been spent, but what about the loan of ₹ 34 crore which had been granted by the Government to the Commission and as per the report of the Public Accounts Committee last year, this loan has still not been repaid which is shameful. Some of my friends suggested that we should not raise such issues after joining the Congress Party. I do not think that joining the Congress Party means encouraging or concealing

* In reply to the comments, "The Commission has provided employment to a crore of pepole", made by Shri N. Patra.

inefficiency and corruption. Wherever there is corruption or inaction, it must be exposed. Public Accounts Committee has recommended that an enquiry should be held with regard to the loan of ₹ 34 crore to the Khadi Commission. However, instead of holding enquiry, what did this Government do? What Madam Minister has stated is that this loan will remain a long term loan. I am surprised that the Khadi Commission is not satisfied with this. It has further demanded ₹ 60 crore as working capital in the Fourth Five Year Plan. There has been no investigation or enquiry and I know that ₹ 60 crore would also perhaps be granted as I have gone through this year's Budget wherein ₹ 34 crore have been provided for this purpose. In the Budget proposal, it has been mentioned that the loan granted earlier should be treated as the amount given for the purpose of working capital. Will these types of moves ensure the progress of cottage industries and whether it will generate any congenial atmosphere in the country? When this report came out in 1960, the entire media had unanimously advised either to stop this work or to do it in a systematic way. I have the editorials of all the leading newspapers of the country like Hindustan Times, Times of India, Free Press General and all other newspapers of 1960. Everyone has opined that either it should be wound up or it should be run systematically.

Sir, this entire system will have to be changed. I would like to say that sentiments are attached with the issue of khadi, but we will have to think as to how far this attachment of sentiments will take us. For how long will it go on like this in the country. How long will we continue to work keeping in mind our sentiments only and setting aside the issue of unemployment and hunger prevailing in the country. I would like to tell you particularly the hon'ble Minister that as far as allocation of more funds is concerned, I appreciate the points made by my friend Shri Mohan Dharia, but it is necessary to see that the money which is being spent is utilized properly. In case of flowing river, we can use as much water as we want, but when there is drought and famine, even a single drop of water is important. Today there is scarcity of resources in the country and in such a situation, even a single penny is precious as it will contribute in shaping the future of the country. Our resources should not be wasted in the name of any person, commission, or schemes, as such wastage will be historic and coming generation will not forgive us. Therefore, I submit that there should be a mechanism to ascertain as to how the funds being provided to handloom, handicrafts, Khadi and Village Commission and cottage industries are utilized. In this regard, an hon'ble Member has given a proposal and a similar proposal was made by the Public Accounts Committee last year. In this proposal, the PAC has made recommendation to the Government to set up a committee to ensure that the funds are utilized properly. I think that whereas the proposal moved by the hon'ble Member Shri Asthana relates to the need for allocation of more funds, it also relates to ensuring proper utilization thereof.

Sir, in the end, I would like to make only one point that though the future looks bright but as Shri Mohan Dharia has said, it is necessary to increase the expenditure on khadi by two-three folds in the next Five Year Plan as the Khadi Commission is responsible for the development of cottage industries. The functioning of Khadi Commission is a big blot on that bright future. Therefore, I would request that functioning of Khadi Commission should be streamlined.

COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT*

Madam, I did not want to speak on this resolution, but after the speeches made by our two hon'ble members', Prof. Mukut Bihari Lal and Shri G. Ramchandran, I thought it necessary to express my views in this regard.

The biggest problem in our country today is that we do not come forward openly to find a solution to the problems facing the country. I feel that the Agricultural Co-operative Movement which is being discussed today is basically a political movement. If the people from the Swatantra Party oppose it, they don't oppose it unconsciously, rather they are opposing it with a purpose. As a Gandhian thinker Shri G. Ramchandran may say that it should not be made a shuttlecock of politics and should not be brought within the ambit of politics, but I feel that if Cooperative Movement is associated with the agricultural sector, it will lead to fundamental changes with regard to the right to property. What has been happening for the last thousands of years in agricultural sector. On one hand, there are 60 per cent people who have less than one acre of land. On the other, there are those who have farmland measuring thousands of acres. The Cooperative Movement is aimed to increase the production of foodgrain in the interest of landowners having less than one acre of land. There is no other way except initiation of Cooperative Movement to utilize the available scientific methods of agriculture in order to ensure the development of the small farmers, the poor whose hopes have been shattered for years and whose development has been blocked. If Cooperative Movement is started and the movement succeeds, then the result would be that the rights of those having monopoly in this field would be affected. Hon'ble Dahyabhai Patel and his party have vested interests. Their personal views may be good and their intentions may be good but what is the reason that the Cooperative Movement, as hon'ble Ramchandranji has said, is not as much opposed in other fields as it is opposed in the field of agriculture? An attempt is being made to create a certain feeling among the big or small landholders. I do not know whether members from Jan Sangh are present here or not — the members from Swatantra Party and Jan Sangh are spreading this feeling all over the country that if cooperative method is used in the field of agriculture, then the farmers will no longer be owners of agricultural land. Who are

* Participating in the Resolution regarding "Appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to enquire into Agricultural Cooperatives" Rajya Sabha Debate, 11 September 1964, *cc.* 1039-1046 (Originally in Hindi).

creating the dispute of ownership? The dispute of ownership in the field of agriculture in this country is being created by 2 per cent people only who are represented by Dahyabhai Patel and his party and by the Jan Sangh. I feel sorry that my friends from the Congress act evasively rather than acting on this basic fundamental issue in true sense. I was surprised when Prof. Mukut Bihari Lalji, who is a leader of Democratic Socialist Movement and member of Socialist Party said that it has nothing to do with politics. It is very difficult to say where politics is to be involved and where it should not be. Furthermore, if you take any step which goes against some people having vested interests even at later stage, they would rise against you. The people who have come forward to run this movement, are finding it hard to sustain the pressure. If I were to raise my basic objection to the Congress Government, I object to the way the Congressmen do not raise these fundamental issues with the poor. If co-operation is solicited, and we seek cooperation from all, whose cooperation is required? If the Agricultural Co-operative Movement is to succeed, cooperation from all is required, but you can never get this cooperation from the Swatantra Party or Jan Sangh Party. The sooner this false slogan of cooperation and false propaganda is ended, the quicker we will succeed.

Madam, I would like to ask as to what is the impact of this slogan. As Shri Ramchandranji said and Gandhian thinkers say that 'the farther we are from politics the better it would be', but unfortunately, as a socialist, I feel that the impact of politics falls on every aspect of human life, particularly when we want to solve economic problems and improve financial condition of the poor, politics rears its head in the most despicable form. On one hand, there are people with vested interests and on the other, there are those who have a dream to build a new society, who want to create a new society. If our political approach is not clear, then, what would be the fate of Cooperative Movement—would it be the same as being observed under the leadership of Dey Saheb. Hon'ble Dey Saheb gives a statement that the Cooperative Movement is not running properly and the Congressmen readily accept it. Just now Shri Dahyabhai was quoting the top leaders of the Congress. Have the leaders from the Congress even thought as to why such things happen? The Cooperative Movement does not succeed in the field of agriculture because a poor man, a villager has no idea how to protect his interests but those who understand it, go to the poor and ask them to do everything but not let cooperatives succeed. Today Shri Dahyabhai Patel represents that interest, that class in the Parliament and challenges our stand. People from our side who want to build a socialist society and run Cooperative Movement and people like Shri Ramchandranji who have been brought up in Gandhian tradition, talk of human virtues. But the building of society depends upon the relations amongst certain classes. Today, there

are two classes in our society—one which is exploited and the other which exploits. No cooperation can be there from the exploiting class in such matters where property relations are going to change. Madam, I would like to say here that so long as the Congress Party and the Government are not ready to understand this basic point, this Cooperative Movement can never become a national movement. There was a time when it was essential to make people understand that British imperialism harmed the farmers living in villages. Mahatma Gandhi gave them a Mantra for that and they stood against imperialism. If we want to promote Cooperative Movement in the agriculture sector, then your stand on property relations and ownership of property should be clear. We have to tell them that the ownership of property has been in the hands of only 2 per cent people but we have to pass it to the hands of 98 per cent or 90 per cent people and for this, there may be some struggle and ill-will, but we should have courage to tolerate it. Why does Shri Dahyabhai Patel oppose collective farming?

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.....I was saying that we will have to make a couple of basic changes in the agricultural sector if we want the Cooperative Movement to succeed. The Cooperative Movement demands two things. One, it should be clear, as to who should have the ownership of the agricultural field. So long as the big agriculturists are there, the farmer can not have ownership of that agricultural land. Those who have farms of thousands of acres, will always create hurdles in the way of agriculture cooperatives. I do not want to go into details. Secondly, despite such obstacles, the organizers, the workers need to go to villages and make the people aware of the truth in this regard. Despite several obstacles in the way of freedom struggle, Mahatma Gandhi made each and every farmer understand that they should root out British regime from the country for their wellbeing. Then what happened. Madam, the poorest man of the village, who was an illiterate and had no resources, stood up against the biggest imperialism. Let grassroots workers sit together and go to villages to create awareness among the villagers. May be hon'ble Vajpayeeji and Patelji do not have any such feelings, but their parties oppose it because the people they represent, feel that ownership in the agricultural sector should not change.

This Cooperative Movement may become a national movement if this point is explained to them clearly. I would like to humbly appeal to Shri Dey Saheb that if he wants to promote cooperatives in the agriculture sector, he should seek the cooperation from other ministries also which are working for agricultural reform. Sometimes Shri Dey Saheb makes a statement but does not show courage to explain the basic points and can not ask another minister that this work involves these types of basic difficulties. Without removing these basic problems, the Government can run Cooperative

Movement but only to an extent. For this also, grassroots workers need to go to villages collectively, awaken the masses and create awareness among the small farmers that they would flourish and progress only when they stand and work together, I am surprised when such propaganda is made in villages that intention behind such a movement is to grab land from the farmers. I do not know about other States but in Uttar Pradesh, 70 per cent farmers have less than one acre of land. How much can they produce from such a small holding and what can they produce by using new methods of farming. Persons from Community Development and Development Block tell them about new methods but how can a farmer use that new technology in such a small landholding when he can not produce sufficient foodgrains there to feed his own family? He can not take loan against such small holding. He can not make capital investment and, particularly, he cannot use new scientific methods of agriculture. Madam, I felt sorry when Prof. Mukut Bihari Lal and Shri Ramchandran said that this issue should not be made a shuttlecock of politics. The days to come will be more difficult if Shri Dey Saheb remains in this confusion. It is basically a political issue and this issue should be addressed at political level and difficulties coming in the way should be removed and this movement should be taken forward.

I thank you for having given me this opportunity to speak on this issue. Excuse me. I want to clear one more thing. It has been published in the newspapers that I am a member of Joint Socialist Party. I want to make it very clear that I have nothing to do with this party. I have not joined Joint Socialist Party.

*I am an independent.

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* While replying to the question "which party do you belong to" asked by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

SUGAR INDUSTRY AND GOVERNMENT POLICY*

Madam, Deputy Chairperson, while considering this issue, we should give due consideration to the history of sugar mills and also look into the policy adopted by the Government during the past.

Several of my colleagues have said that the sugar mills in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar are not running in profit. Besides them the whole country would like to know whether the sugar mills in U.P. and Bihar are running in profit or not?

Around 1930, when the sugar industry was initially set up in the country, the mills were established in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. At that time, when people had set up sugar mills, their economic structure must be very good. Since then upto 10 years ago, these mills were functioning properly and after that new mills were set up in South India, Mysore and Maharashtra.

There is one more confusion, which needs to be removed. People think that the recovery of sugarcane grown in Southern India is more than that of Northern India. If we go through the statistics, we find that except Maharashtra, the recovery of sugarcane in the entire country is more or less similar. I would like to put figures before the House. In western Uttar Pradesh, the recovery figure was 9.27 during 1952-53 and 10.31, 9.56, 9.62, 9.94 and 9.94 during 1953-54, 1954-55, 1955-56, 1956-57 and 1957-58 respectively. In eastern U.P., it was 9.7 and 9.78 during 1952-53 and 1958-59. The figures of recovery for Andhra, Madras, Mysore and Kerala is 9.93 and 9.53 during 1952-53 and 1958-59 respectively. The recovery figure for Maharashtra, the then Bombay State has been, no doubt very good which stands at 11.51 in 1952-53 and 11.46 in 1958-59. The following are the recovery figures in respect of the entire country: the recovery figure which was 9.97 in 1952-53 came down to 9.85 in 1958-59. If we take the recovery of the entire country into account, then, only Maharashtra has been an exception. No other State can claim to have good recovery figure in terms of sugarcane.

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**I would like to say that this issue has been raised in a wrong manner. Just now some members said that sugar mills should be set up in North

* Participating in the discussion on "Shortage of Sugar in the Country"; Rajya Sabha Debate, 26 August 1963, *cc.* 1550-1558 (Originally in Hindi).

** Reply to Shri N. Shriram Reddy's comment that "It is not a matter of recovery. It is a question of increased sugar production".

India instead of South India whereas some said other way round that the mills are not viable in North India and need to be closed permanently. Why is there this kind of controversy? It is there because of the faulty sugar policy of the Government which is not based on any principle. It is changed as and when any pressure is exerted. The quantum of production of sugar or any other item in a country depends on the consumption thereof as well as the export market therefor. If this is taken in context of India, then, I would say and if I am wrong, the hon'ble Minister of Agriculture will correct me that barring China, perhaps we are far behind than any other country in terms of per capita consumption of sugar. When the production of sugar increased in 1961-62, the hon'ble Minister of Agriculture gave an order to cut down the production. Sir, a bill named 'Regulation of Sugar Production Bill' was introduced in this very House in 1961. The mill owners were asked to decrease the production of sugar by 10 per cent or else a penal duty would be imposed on them. I would like to ask the Government with all humility whether the target of production of sugar required for domestic consumption had been achieved when such orders were issued and if not, the reasons for giving such an order? The hon'ble Minister of Food is not here, I have just read his speech. He has said therein that if we leave the production of sugar uncontrolled, the production would be 10 million tonnes *i.e.* 100 lakh tonnes; 1 crore tonne and it would be a problem for us. This is a Socialist Government which believes in planned economy, but the irony is that it seems that the production of sugar increases on a particular day and falls down the very next day.

I was, therefore, saying that there are two to three parameters of production which needs to be considered. We have to see the daily crushing capacity of the sugar mills as well as their capacity of sugarcane consumption. The second thing is about season and the third factor to be considered is the percentage of recovery. Let us think this way. Almost all sugar mills of Uttar Pradesh were set-up in 1933-34. Since then, the capitalists have neither modernised the machinery nor adopted new techniques. They are making huge profits. But they are not using the machines with new technology. I would like to tell my friend Jaipuria* that the capacity of these mills has not been increased. It is assumed that a sugar factory should have the consumption capacity of 1500 tonnes a day. But a large number of sugar mills in Uttar Pradesh have the consumption capacity of less than 1200 tonnes a day. Why is it happening and why do we accept it? Today it is said that these are uneconomic industries. The capitalists have said that these mills should be shifted to the southern part of the country. The hon'ble Minister of Agriculture** should correct me if I am wrong. Two sugar mills have worked under authorized control during the last few years.

* Shri Sitaram Jaipuria, Member of Parliament.

** Shri S.K. Patil, Minister of Agriculture.

Not only their condition improved, but they started making profit also. I would like to tell the hon'ble Minister of Agriculture that if the sugar mill owners do not want to run their mills in Uttar Pradesh because of the loss they are incurring, then, why are you making them suffer? Why the Government do not bring these mills under their control and convert them to co-operative factories ? The Government do not want to act.

My friend Reddyji* has rightly said that irrigation and manure facility is not available adequately in Uttar Pradesh. I have just gone through the June edition of 'Indian Sugar Magazine'. There was an article written by someone, I do not remember his name, in which it has been said that the Government of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar are responsible for the worst condition of sugarcane growers and sugar industry. I thought that somebody would feel annoyed with it. I was just going through the Indian Sugarcane Committee Report, 1961- 62. Mr. Reddy would be surprised to know that all the schemes relating to sugar development in Uttar Pradesh have been implemented and completed also. The statistics shows that these have not been completed in Maharashtra and Mysore. The targets have not been achieved there. The Governments of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar have achieved more than the target set for them. Have they got any special acumen in preparing such a data because of which they are getting concession from our Minister of Agriculture.

So, you can't ignore Bihar and Uttar Pradesh which together account for 65 per cent of the total sugar production in the country. Secondly, what is the attitude of this Government towards sugarcane growers? In 1952-53, late Shri Rafi Ahmad Kidwai was Food Minister. He said that farmers should also get some profit earned through sugar production. The mill owners, Government, capitalists and farmers agreed to his proposal. The hon'ble Minister told them that they have to give a certain amount from their profit to the farmers and the capitalists agreed to do so. Sir, I would like to say, through you, that mill owners of Uttar Pradesh have given ₹ 50 Lakhs to sugarcane growers in a year *i.e.* 1953-54. In Bihar, the hon'ble Minister of Agriculture is also from Bihar, the mill owners gave ₹ 14,000/- to sugarcane growers generously in 1953-54. After that sugarcane growers have never been given any profit share by mill owners. On the other hand, what happened in South India? All mill owners together gave ₹ 1 crore to sugarcane growers in 1952-53. I am talking about SISMA formula. They gave ₹ 92 lakhs, ₹ 40 lakhs and ₹ 24 lakhs in 1953-54, 1954-55, 1955-56 respectively and also some amount in 1957-58. It totals almost ₹ 1,07,37,000/-. These are not my figures. I have taken it from the speech of hon'ble Minister of Food**.

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* Shri N. Sriram Reddy, Member of Parliament.

** Shri S.K. Patil, Minister of Food.

When the question was raised in the House as to why the mill owners of North India have not been given their share of profit as was given by the mill owners in South India, the hon'ble Minister Shri Patil, who is not present here, said that it was their mutual understanding and not a statutory right. In 1958, it was decided under Essential Commodities Act to give them their dues from the profit. The Government adopted deferred price policy and as a result thereof, sugarcane growers have not been paid their share of profit from 1951 till 1962 and in 1962, the Government said again that it could not be implemented. Not only this but the amount of outstanding arrears which Uttar Pradesh mill owners owe to farmers could not be calculated from 1958 to 1962. Whether this Government is not responsible for this? When this Government was asked in 1961-62 to make arrangement for consumption of entire sugarcane produced in the country, the Government replied that they would try to do so, but it was not their responsibility to ensure consumption of entire production. I would like to say with all humility to the hon'ble Minister of Agriculture that the farmers in Deoria district of Uttar Pradesh have burnt their sugarcane crops in the field itself. I am not saying this alone. Even today, the issue of compensation to the farmers is under consideration of the Uttar Pradesh Government.

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The farmers in Deoria have burnt their standing crops in the field itself as the sugar mills were closed in June and July and therefore, the production of sugarcane could not be fully consumed. Not only that, the same happened in 1940-41 and 1950-51. After every 10 years, it happens *i.e.* production of sugarcane goes up and no proper arrangement is made to consume it fully. At that point of time, the Government said 'Install crusher and Kolhu', produce sugarcane and make jaggery and raw sugar. And when the farmers started it in 1963-64, the Government said that the production of jaggery and raw sugar would be controlled. Sir, I would like to ask the Government as to why it should not be left to the farmers to negotiate with the mill owners to decide the prices of sugarcane. We have got 'Sugarcane Co-operative Union' which is working in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Whenever any dispute arises, the union plays a role of mediator between mill owners, Government and the farmers. I, therefore, urge upon you to consider it in the light of the above.

I will conclude my speech by saying one more thing. While considering all these issues, the Government should keep in mind the current scenario before reaching a conclusion. Be these be mills of Northern India or Southern India, I request that the Government should run these mills under their control through Co-operative Societies. If this efficient Socialist Government can't do this, at least it should put a ceiling on profit so that the profit could be distributed equally among the sugar mills. If the Government want

to go for planned economy, then their intention should be clear. All expenses regarding the quantum of sugar production for export next year and for the domestic consumption should be worked out.

I would like to make one more submission in respect of excise duty which 'stands at ₹ 13 per 40 Kg.' sugarcane. It is another example of the wrong policy of the Government. If the Government brings down its excise duty from ₹ 13 to ₹ 5, then on one hand, the production of sugar will go up and on the other, it will not make any impact on the total excise duty collection. But if the Government work with the same intention as the capitalists and wish to get maximum benefit, it is not going to last long.

Lastly, I would like to say that the Government should adopt a proper planned policy and encourage the farmers by giving them an incentive of ₹ 2 per 40 kg. sugarcane. Now I am saying something for which Shri Jaipuria* and Shri Vajpayeeji** would forgive me. If there is any flaw or corruption or bribery in control, then it should be removed. If we can't do this, then a handful of persons can not be allowed to run this country at their will. I term it highly improper if economy of the country is left in hands of these people. I demand from the Government that trade in sugar should be done on state trading basis under which the control over the production, profit and distribution should remain in the hands of the Government. Only then can we move forward towards a socialist society in which there would be a proper production and distribution system.

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* Shri Sitaram Jaipuria, M.P.

** Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, M.P.

CENTRE STATE RELATIONS AND STATE POLITICS

DISMISSAL OF GOVERNMENT IN WEST BENGAL*

Madam, before I express my views on Haryana and Bengal, I would like to convey another sad news to my hon'ble friend Shri Bhupesh Gupta and his colleagues. The announcement made by the Chief Minister of Punjab in the Legislative Assembly of the State has been reported by the P.T.I, thus:

> "Sardar Gurnam Singh the Punjab Chief Minister, announced in the State Vidhan Sabha today that he was resigning."

As those who were supporting him, have withdrawn their support.

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Three Governments have collapsed within 2 days. My friend Shri Sundar Singh Bhandari must have been thinking that I am happy with this development. However, I am sad on account of this. Democracy cannot be successful till another party is competent enough to run the Government and capable to take up this responsibility. Whoever believes in the democratic system feels that the aim of the democratic system is that if one party loses power, another party should be competent enough to form the Government.

I would like to tell hon'ble Bhupesh Guptaji and those colleagues who did not make any effort to strengthen their parties before the elections and merely spread the idea that Congress should be destroyed and dismantled at any cost and that would be beneficial for the country, that they did not know that when they were raising this slogan, they were striking at the roots of the parliamentary democracy. Today our friends can ask with regret as to why the military was called. I would like to draw the attention of hon'ble Bhupesh Guptaji towards the statement of his Chief Minister, Shri Ajoy Mukherjee, for whom he is showing encomiums. While replying to the leftist communists, he had said that he had requested the Government of India to call the army and the reason which he had cited was that there was such a party within the Government which openly invited China for signing an agreement.

I agree with brother Bhupesh Guptaji that Bengal has got a tradition. Bengal has played a prominent role in the freedom movement of India. I also know that Bengal would retain a high place in the culture and

* Participating in the discussions on Dismissal of United Front Government in West Bengal, Rajya Sabha Debate, 22 November, 1967, *cc.* 626-636 (Originally in Hindi).

civilization of India. We are proud that people like Batukeshwar Dutt and Subhash Chandra Bose were born in the soil of Bengal. It does not behove of the people born on the soil of Bengal which has produced great personalities like Batukeshwar Dutt and Subhash Chandra Bose to hatch a conspiracy in connivance with some foreign powers holding the country's independence and sovereignity to ransom. I believe that the people of Bengal, the youth of Bengal understand even today that the tradition which Batukeshwar Dutt and Subhash Chandra Bose set up should be maintained. The youth of Bengal will never be ready to get this tradition trampled over by a few people involved in the Naxalbari conspiracy in which this Nation takes pride and hon. Bhupesh Gupta feels proud. If I have any charge to make against the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Government of India, it is only that why was not this Government dismissed on the day when the Chief Minister of that State stated that there were such ministers in the Government whose party was in an agreement with China.

Madam, through you, I would like to tell the House that immense power rests in the democracy. It is so powerful and strong that it creates Nations. However, the greatest weakness of democracy lies in the fact that its enemies take advantage of the rights guaranted thereunder to dig into its roots. It has been a worldwide practice be it Hitler, Mussolini or any other dictators, they have misused the rights bestowed on them by the democratic society to murder Democracy itself.

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There have been people in Bengal who have openly committed anti-national activities during the last 6 months. I pity Shri Bhupesh Gupta and Shri Rajnarayanji; I will not quote them; hon'ble Shri Rajnarayanji said in this very House that democracy was being butchered in Naxalbari. He shed tears in this House when a P.S.P. worker was murdered in Aasansol and the Government of Bengal was not ready to take any action to fix responsibility. I would like to remind my Praja Socialist Party brethren how their workers were dragged from their office on to road and beaten up by the Leftists in Calcutta. I would like to ask Shri Bhupesh Gupta and Shri Rajnarayanji, who were the champions of democracy, if this is what is called the democratic convention and if our martyrs sacrificed their lives for this purpose, if our Constitution under whose parameters we are holding this discussion upholds the same democratic values. I would refer to the constitutional rules and practices at a later stage but these are fundamental questions on which the entire country seeks their reply. I can understand their reservation about Congress or their resentment against the Government. I can also appreciate if they throw light on the follies of the Government or if they condemn the Congress. However, I would urge upon my these friends that they should

not support the people who in order to draw political mileage are striking blows on the democratic conventions and eating into its roots. The developments in West Bengal during the last 6-8 months were not strengthening democracy in any manner. I would remind Shri Bhupesh Gupta about situation before the general elections. Being a Congress Party worker I can say that it was difficult to hold the meetings of the Congress party in Calcutta*. When their party formed the Government after elections, people looked upon them with aspiration and hope, however, where did it lead the people to in 6 months. Three days ago one and a half lakh people gathered in Calcutta to voice their protests against Shri Ajoy Mukherjee's Government..... I would like to know whether a paradigm shift in public opinion is not discernible to the Government when 1.5 lakh people under the leadership of the Congress raise this demand. If such a change is not discernible to the Government then I would say that it is akin to a bird who refuses to fly in broad daylight. I would like to say that this has been a fast track change. The non-Congress Governments have proved that they have surpassed Congress party Government's predicament with its petty follies in twenty years which they have achieved in a span of six months and today the people of the country have lost faith in them. They claim to continue Ajoy Mukherjee's Government in power either in the name of democracy, political morality, or constitutionally or in the name of public propriety.

Some of my colleagues raise this point that heavens would not have fallen if Shri Ajoy Mukherjee's Government continued in office till 20 December. Here I would like the hon'ble Minister of Home Affairs to respond to Shri Ajoy Mukherjee's allegation levelled in a statement in order that some Ministers were hand in glove with China. Who can be held accountable if subsequently these Ministers taking advantage of their public office formed an alliance of the anti-national elements loyal to China in Naxalbari, in West Bengal? The Government of India cannot be absolved of this culpability. If, today, the dismissal of the Government results in bloodshed, civil war or its onus will be on Shri Dharmvir not for what he did yesterday but for his inertia during the last one and a half month. I would like to say that a Minister can go to any length to commit treason against his country in connivance with a foreign Government.

It is being said that there would be a carnage. May be some lives have been taken away, after all they are deft in doing so. However, I would like to tell my friends that history is a testimony to the fact that at times need arises to train guns at one's own countrymen in order to uphold the unity of the country, its independence and democracy and it is not a matter of shame. After all we have example of leaders like Abraham Lincoln for whom any society, any Nation would feel proud. So, it may be a matter of

* Now known as Kolkata.

regret, if some lives need to be sacrificed for the sake of unity and sovereignty. However, no Government or political party is above the unity of the country.

I would like to tell my friends in the opposition that they may be nourishing some opinion about Congress, but the fact remains that Congress has had a tradition of making sacrifices from 1885 to 1947 which has helped the Nation achieve greater heights and attain independence.

The tradition of Bengal which has been mentioned by hon'ble Bhupesh Gupta has been the tradition of the Congress and in order to carry it forward the Congress party is ready to make supreme sacrifice. No Government in office belonging to the Congress party can remain inactive on such an occasion even if it wants to be so. The magnanimity shown by hon'ble Chavanji* and hon. Shrimati Indira Gandhi has been too much but I would submit to those of my friends that this country is not only of the Congress party but of all the people and so action should have been taken at that time itself in the wake of the statement by Shri Ajoy Mukherjee. That single statement was enough for dismissal.

On the other hand, it is said that the Governor has no power in this regard. This can be disputed. There is another aspect in this regard that the Governor is empowered to dismiss the Government if he thinks that the Government is not being run as per the Constitution. I would not like to quote the Articles of the Constitution in this regard as many constitutional pandits are there to contend about that, however, I would like to give an excerpt of Ambedkar. I am reading that out in English:

> "Although the Governor has no functions, still the Constitutional Governor, that he is, has certain duties to perform. His duties, according to me, may be classified into two parts. One is that he is to retain the Ministry in office because the Ministry is to hold office during his pleasure. He has to see whether and when he should exercise his pleasure against the Ministry....."

This is an excerpt from Dr. Ambedkar. He has said that the Governor has the right to determine when should he use his discretion, his pleasure, against the Ministry. This has been said by Ambedkar Saheb, the framer of our Constitution. In these circumstances, if the hon'ble Governor Shri Dharmveer thought that the Government was not run properly, it was his national responsibility—I am not a legal luminary, I do not know as to what the law says in this regard, but his national duty was making a call to him.

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* Shri Y.B. Chavan.

Madam, hon'ble* Bhupesh Gupta has expressed his views. I am saying this much that Dr. Ambedkar—the framer of the Constitution was also of the same opinion. This can be discussed and debated. There may be dispute in this regard, I do not say that this is the final word, but it is not that there is no constitutional fact or support behind the same.

I wanted to contend this much that the Governor Dharmveer has complied with his national duty and I would like to submit before the House that he deserves congratulations from us for this.

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I do not know hon'ble Governor Shri Dharmveer personally. Our friend contended that two I.C.S.# officers have dismissed two Ministries. However, so far as I know and the whole country knows through the newspapers that Shri Dharmveerji had been recommended for Governor by none other than Shri Ajoy Mukherjee Saheb as he liked him at that time and now he is being disliked by him.

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Madam, at last, I would like to submit this much only that the dismissal of the Bengal Government was urgently required in the national interest, the future of the country and the democracy and for the welfare of the country.

So far as the question of Haryana is concerned, the report of the Governor of Haryana amply illustrated that the politicians of that State.....

Madam, at last, I would only contend that whatever happened in Haryana has been made clear by the hon'ble Governor, the way people carried out something here and there has rocked the decorum of democracy.

With these words, I support the proposal of the hon'ble Home Minister in which he has submitted for the imposition of the President's rule in Haryana and I am constrained to oppose the proposal of my friend Shri Bhupesh Gupta.

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* In reply to comments, "Just one point. Will you kindly yield? See that Article 75 of the Constitution with regard to the Central Council of Miniters: 'The Minister shall hold office during the pleasure of the President.' Do you mean to say that the same thing applies here also," made by Shri Bhupesh Gupta.

I.C.S.—Indian Civil Service.

SITUATION IN BIHAR VIDHAN SABHA*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Somnathji has said a good thing that all the things cannot be discussed here, like how the elections will be conducted and about the Election Commissioner although he has discussed all these aspects here himself. I would not like to speak on it but I would like to say one thing which Chandrajeetji has raised here. The hon'ble Prime Minister will have to give its reply. Whether the Governor has said to them that the Government of Bihar is not cooperating with him on this issue. Whether it is a fact or not that the BSF, the CRPF and the officers of the police force of other States have informed them that they have not been assigned any work there. They are roaming aimlessly on the roads. Do they know it or not as to what will happen in Bihar?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, humbly I would like to urge upon the hon'ble Prime Minister through you that for political gain of one or the other party we should not create such circumstances that the people of the para-military forces refuse to go to a place and say that they are kept as spectators there. It is a well known fact and the hon'ble Prime Minister also knows about it. I am saying so with full responsibility. Whether the hon'ble Prime Minister is aware of it or not that six months back the hon'ble Governor and the Intelligence Bureau had informed him that the situation in Bihar is not only out of control but it has crossed all limits? The condition is that the elections may or may not held tomorrow. I do not think that the Constitution is being interpreted properly. I am at a loss to understand as to what will happen to the nation if Lalu Prasad does not remain the Chief Minister for 5 days or if he comes back to power after being elected with majority after 5 days. It has been said emphatically that the free and fair poll is being conducted. After 5 days he will come to power with full glory.

If Government machinery is not being used in elections why unnecessary hue and cry is being made, there is none who can reply to it.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to tell you that today all the newspapers of Bihar and not only one or two but ten agencies of Bihar have said that there was no use of deployment of forces there. Is it not the responsibility of the Parliament to see that the Security personnel from whom we expect that they will work for the security of the country, and upon whom we rely to face adverse circumstances, when they say publicly that they are sitting

* Participating in the discussion on the titled subject, Lok Sabha Debate; 15 March 1995, *cc.* 161-163.

idle there? Whether it is not a fact that inspite of all the rules there District Magistrates themselves are indulged in booth capturing? Besides this if this Government remains in power for 5 more days I do not think that it will be a breach of Constitution or democracy. When a senior Member like Shri Somnathji gives such type of speeches. I really get surprised whether there is any regard for parliamentary democracy in our hearts or not.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am not an expert of Constitution.

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I do not know about the circumstances prevailing earlier, but the term of the Legislative Assembly is being terminated today.....

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The country is ruining, Legislative Assembly comes after that. Why the Assembly should function after its term is over. What is the interpretation of Constitution in this respect?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I never wanted to raise these issues but these people have raised this question so it has become necessary for me to give reply. If that government remains in power, the result would be the same what Shri Somnathji has apprehended that another Collector will go to Purnia. What would be its repercussion upon bureaucracy and its morale and secondly our Para Military organisations will apprehend and suspect ill. Why elections were not held? It did not happen all of a sudden. This discussion was going on for the last 6 months that elections would be held late there. Mr. Prime Minister will have to answer this question also why the Chief Minister and the Election Commissioner do not jointly.....

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Our 'dada' is a very intelligent person. In fact it should be the same as you are saying, but I do not want to say. That is a matter of understanding. You should have told the Prime Minister. If you have done it six months earlier the country would have saved from this crisis. So you are saying the right thing. Sometimes truth comes out by chance by making mistakes.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, if these things be kept aside what is happening in Bihar today and the way controversy is being raised, it has nothing to do with Lalu Yadav personally but the way administration is functioning and the scope of controversy is being raised, its result will be very harmful. The Prime Minister has full authority to take any decision during and after election. Whether the Governor has advised him or the Governor took action on his advice but whatever is going on, it is harmful not only for Bihar but for the whole Nation.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY*

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to commiserate with the Government, especially with the Minister of External Affairs. I have no complaints against them. My only complaint is that the hon'ble Prime Minister failed in presenting his viewpoint explicitly though I do not advocate the manner and language in which the Pakistani general put up his viewpoint. We were told time and again that what is happening in Kashmir is the struggle for freedom. I do not understand as to why our delegation was not able to tell them that Kashmir freedom struggle ended in 1947 when our country was divided in the name of religion. At that time the people of Kashmir refused to go with Pakistan led by Mr. Jinnah and joined Mahatma Gandhi's India. That freedom struggle was fought under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah and as a result of that Kashmir is an integral part of India today. General Musharraf might not be aware of that struggle but I hoped that the representatives and leaders of India had to make him aware of this fact but it was not done. Other countries of the world also advised us time and again to reach some agreement on this issue. These are the very people who played important role in dividing this country into two parts.

I would like to say that Kashmir issue or Hindustan-Pakistan issue is not that easy as we generally think. I would like to say with all humility that I could not associate myself with Shri Somnath Chatterjee's viewpoint. What has happened to opposition parties? Before saying anything to the Government I would like to know as to why they had gone to attend the tea party oganised by General Musharraf. Were you hoping that an important decision will be taken in it for solving this problem. I totally disagree with General Musharraf's viewpoint but I would like to say here that he hardly said anything in Agra which he did not say in Pakistan. What he said in Islamabad was repeated in Agra. He repeated the same point on return to his country. He had stated in very clear terms that nothing else but Kashmir issue was on his agenda. I do not know as to the basis on which the leaders of opposition parties advised Jaswant Singhji and Vajpayeeji to raise other issues. I do not know as to the basis on which our hon. Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs hoped to raise other issues along with the Kashmir issue. I am saying repeatedly so because General Musharraf had said this before the entire world and he crossed every limit and stated that

* Participating in the discussion on Indo-Pak relations under rule 193, Lok Sabha Debate, 1 August 2001, *cc.* 474-480.

some other country had pressurized India to invite him. Despite all this in such a situation this invitation was extended. Earlier, a couple of meetings of SAARC[$] were postponed. We are the founder Member of SAARC. We set up the SAARC forum at the time when issue of regional cooperation was raised throughout the world, the European countries, Mexico, Canada and America, and the ASEAN[@] countries were promoting mutual cooperation. SAARC was a forum where our Prime Minister and General Musharraf could have held talks easily without raising any hue and cry or any fear of disrespect. At that time we were told that ours is a democratic country and we believe in democracy so we could not hold discussion with a dictator. Several leaders of our country had held discussions with the general during SAARC summits. I do not want to remind that Mani Shankarji had also held discussion with Pakistan's General in SAARC meeting. I, myself had held discussions with the General of Bangladesh. Our Prime Minister talked of high ideas in democracy which were praised by people of this country. Our newspapers published that such a big supporter of democracy one day suddenly invited General Musharraf. After that all the opposition parties were invited, who also claimed that an important decision is being taken to solve this problem and termed it new beginning in this direction.

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*Whosoever must have gone there. It was stated that it was a new beginning in our foreign policy. A new step is being taken for improving Indo-Pak relations. I do not know as to why these dreams were dreamt. It was very clear from the news items published in newspapers of Islamabad and style of General Musharraf that he wouid raise the Kashmir issue only. I would like to know whether there was any hesitation in our mind or could we ignore the Kashmir issue which become part of our country due to many sacrifices and great efforts of Sheikh Abdullah. Please remember Kashmir issue is not only the question of a piece of land but it is a question of fundamental principles and ideals for us. Kashmir is such a part of our country on the basis of which we can claim that India is a secular country. Secularism has been a tradition with our country for thousands of years. There can be various religions or paths but God is one and thus our destination is same. We decided not to fight or quarrel on the basis of religion and people of Kashmir proved this fact.

This issue was ended by Sheikh Abdullah during struggle of 1947. Later while framing the constitution of India we inserted Article 370 but these points have not been raised. Why such issues were not presented before

[$] SAARC—South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation.

[@] ASEAN—Association of South East Asian Nation.

* Replying to Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav's comment, "I did not go there."

the world. While welcoming General Musharraf we were overjoyed and felt that we have nothing to say and General Musharraf had come over here to express his views.

Madam, Chairperson, Shrimati Sushma Swaraj is being criticized as to how she had gone there without invitation and made a statement. I am not saying this today, at that time also when media persons asked me whether Sushma Swaraj had been invited or not? I told them that I did not know that but it is a fact that she was the Spokesperson of this country and not of General Musharraf. I do not know as to the extent to which her statement was true, but she tried to save the honour and esteem of this country. I told media persons not to make fun of her. We feel that there is lack of discipline if some General Chitnis refuses to salute but what about the discipline in case when including General Musharraf, all the three Generals of Pakistan refused to come for welcoming Indian Prime Minister in Lahore.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I feel that discussion should be held and agreements should be reached but not at the cost of our pride and by lowering our dignity while initiating dialogue between two countries, sentiments of people on the other side should also be taken care of.

Madam, we manufactured atom bomb and nuclear bomb and celebrated the competent Minister of the Government who always try to find loopholes and infuse confidence in the Government, had gone a step forward and stated that we will do pro-active politics and are ready to fight a war in Kashmir.

After five to seven days. I alone had said in the House that a great injustice is being committed on the people of our country including those of this region also against the people of Pakistan. I also said that nuclear bomb is not a weapon of defence but a weapon of attack and aggression. It can not be put to any internal use. It will be used and targeted against the other country. But have you ever thought as to what will happen to Amritsar if a bomb is dropped on Lahore.

However, the hon. Prime Minister went on Lahore visit motivated by either the suggestion given by hon. Jaswant Singh or someone else. It was reported in Newspapers that the hon. Prime Minister has surpassed even Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru in diplomacy of peace and friendship. The hon. Prime Minister himself might have never thought above that and he visited Lahore. I said in this House that it is a dangerous overuse to do so and emphasized that the hon. Prime Minister has taken a dangerous step and it might lead the country to a dangerous proposition. I was never aware that Kargil war will take place within three months of his Lahore visit and the House, will do well to remember that though we showed a lot of enthusiasm in Kargil

war and eulogized role of our jawans but all of it came to a naught when the President of some country boasted the role of his country sending the Pakistan army back and remarked that it was not the efforts of the Indian soldier alone which made the Pakistani forces leave the hills of Kargil. Though it was a compulsion on the part of the Government to welcome the Pakistani President, but I am unable to understood as to why the opposition made such a hustle and bustle over the issue of taking part in the luncheon thrown to welcome him. I am of the view that we must think over all the aspects before deciding to do something.

Madam Chairperson, I agree to comrade Somnath's views that foreign policy of the Government is not related to the ruling party alone, instead it is the question of the prestige of the country as to how a country is running its foreign affairs. Recently, news broke out that the members of opposition will not attend the tea party hosted by the Pakistani High Commissioner because Hurriyat leader had also been invited to it. I don't know as to who should be invited for and who should not, however the opposition Members made an issue out of a non-issue. The party of hon. Shivrajji opined that one Member of their party should be included in the tea party for very Member their party will send. When our friends from NDA got into the thick of things, they decided not to attend the tea party in trying to maintain their image.

When the NDA partners decided not to attend the tea party, the opposition parties announced that they will certainly attend it. Is this the unity among us? Is it a way for developing consensus on foreign affairs? When General Musharraf was meeting with Hurriyat leaders, one of the main leader of opposition was waiting for him in the corridor. It was shown on T.V. Didn't the sentiment of National glory, respect and prestige arose in our minds? I would like to make it clear before the hon. Prime Minister that I am saying these things because we are a part of the same family and share a kinship among us. When India made nuclear bomb and tested it by conducting five explosions, Pakistanis went ahead by exploding six times. They are also our brothers. You colleagues don't talk about waging war. It is done at other places. I don't want to go deep into it however I would like to say that you are being given a wrong advice.

Just now, Somnathji was speaking. I was astonished to listen to his view. He said that the Prime Minister should certainly visit Lahore and maintain friendly ties. Our friend Jaswantji is a very optimistic person. It is in fit of this State that he has been advocating for this visit. I agree that there is no other alternative. However, it should be done at secretarial and External Affairs Ministerial level first. I would like to say that the Prime Minister should assume caution in regard to visiting Islamabad lest

there should be more unhealthy an outcome than the one of Agra Summit. I am saying it because I am of the view that though I am in favour of talks caution should not be thrown to winds. Our Prime Minister has accepted the invitation of visits as a gesture of larger. However longer should only be adopted against the coming persons. There is an old saying 'Sathe Satheyam Samachrate' meaning thereby that liberal attitude can not be adopted for a coming person. I am not in favour of waging war but on the other hand, I also don't want that the impression should not go round the world that we are very eager to sign an agreement. Why and on what issues should we opt for agreement. General Musharraf was so adamant over inclusion of the Kashmir issue in talks that he surpassed all other Pakistani leaders in doing so. I clearly heard him putting up this condition for holding talks before the Editors. Despite this how Prime Minister was hopeful for a solution. However, I would like to know from the Minister as how and why did you allow the direct broadcast of General Musharraf's speech. I would also like to know as to what our intelligence agencies and Department of Information and Broadcasting doing? As Shri Somnathji said, had one of the correspondent not helped, Doordarshan would not have got even a copy of speech. How did it take place the Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to say that we are trying to strike friendly ties with a country with dubious intentions. The hon. Prime Minister extended an openhearted invitation to the Pakistan Government? Immediately after invitation was extended to him, what did he do? Initially the Government had indicated that it would not talk with the existing Pakistani Government because it is not headed by an elected Chief…*(Interruptions)*… Leave apart terrorism. It cannot be stopped or augmented with Pakistani efforts. It is we who will stop it for good and we are not so incapable that we can not do so. It is nothing but the sign of our weakness to seek external help for the same. I am of the view that it is a path full of difficulties wherein some strong decisions and unpopular rhetorics will have to be delivered. However, I would like to know whether we are such incapable a nation that we continue to bear these atmosphere of violence and terror sponsored by some other country like Pakistan? But whatever has happend is nearly surprising. Within a few days of receiving our invitation Musharraf declared himself the President of Pakistan. It is a matter of shame and regret that it is India alone which recognise him as President.

I am sorry to say that hon. Prime Minister was compelled to take this erreneous step during the last two to three years he has been in the habit of extending the invitation for talks either to Hurriyat Conference or to Hizb-ul-Muzhiddin without taking into confidence, or consulting the Chief Minister of Kashmir. Union Home Secretary is seen giving group photograph with the people with masked faces. Is it not a sign of cowardice? Despite that the Government expects to sign an agreement with General Musharraf

who was responsible for Kargil intrusion in our land? If the hon. Prime Minister is feeling a great urge to visit Pakistan then he should let it pass to Mr. Jaswant Singh or Sushma Swaraj. Pakistanis understand the language of deceit for in my view diplomacy is nothing but treachery and deceit. Sushmaji though not so skilled in diplomacy, is certainly a clever person. She made it clear during Agra Summit when General Musharraf was found clueless after one of the statements made by her and I was much delighted for this. I would like to submit to Somnathji that I respect him a lot, hence he should not try to encourage the Government to adopt wrong policies. Though initially I used to believe that hon. Prime Minister will not visit Pakistan. My belief was underlined when I came to know of his intention after paying a visit to him to inquire about his health. At that moment I became aroused that he is proceeding in a right path. However, he did a *volte face* after Agra Summit. I would like to say that he should not visit Pakistan and should not let himself be influenced by anyone to change his opinion in this regard. I don't want to create any controversy but I would like to say that both these efforts whether it is the invitation of talks with the terrorists or with Musharraf by according him a status of the harbinger of peace are going to end in failure and push the country into doldrums.

I am certain that the hon. Prime Minister and the Minister of External Affairs will learn a lesson from the Agra Summit and will not repeat the same mistake.

FUNCTIONING OF MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS*

Madam, I pay my regards to Shri Vajpayeeji** for the views expressed by him in this regard. Thirty two of our police personnel including two-three officers are in jail in Nagaland. Some basic points, which should have been kept in mind before sending them to jail have been ignored. These people are protecting our country and are standing firmly on inaccessible hills braving tough whether conditions. I want the Ministry of External Affairs to inquire into the matter and try to get them justice. They should be given proper treatment.

My second point regarding which I would like to seek clarification from the Ministry of External Affairs is that be it Jaya Prakash Narayanji, Michael Scott or Chalihaji, all of them are part of a Peace Mission initiated with the approval of the Government of India. These people are working there with the approval of the Government of India and their performance under difficult conditions exceeds the expectations. Although, it is right that one of the members of Peace Mission, Michael Scott has done something which we can never support, but this is even more painful that the Ministry of External Affairs has been entrusted with the responsibility to deal with the problem of Nagaland. The Hon'ble Member Shri Gujral[$] has just congratulated the Ministry of External Affairs, but in view of their working capacity, I feel that a single Ministry can never succeed in solving the Nagaland problem. My point is that whenever a difficult problem arises, the Council of Ministers and the Ministry should work together and each one of them should be fully aware of this. But the way the Ministry of External Affairs is working today, it seems that it is unable to perform its routine jobs, leave alone finding a solution to difficult problems. When I make this comment about the Ministry of External Affairs, I am not accusing any officer, rather my indication is towards Ministers. We are surprised over the way in which the Ministers of Ministry of External Affairs give reply in this House. The Ministry of External Affairs has been entrusted with a great responsibility, but the way it is working shows that it is not presenting good example for others.

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* Participating in the discussion on "Functioning of Ministry of External Affairs"; Rajya Sabha Debate, 31st March 1965, *cc.* 5239-5243 (Originally in Hindi).

** Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, M.P.

[$] Shri Indra Kumar Gujral, M.P.

Recently, when a discussion was going on about Nagaland problem I had drawn the attention of hon'ble Deputy Minister to the fact at least thrice as to whether there were no barriers on the border of Hindustan and Burma? Whether the civil population from both sides of the border could cross the border freely? Even after being cautioned thrice Hon'ble Deputy Minister denied this fact. However, seven days later, in response to another question, she replied that such convention was there. When I drew the attention of Hon'ble Chairman towards this, the hon'ble Chairman assured to look into the matter and to ask the hon'ble Minister to make a statement in the House in this regard. But no statement has been made by the Ministry of External Affairs till date. Even today, when I drew the attention of the hon'ble Minister of External Affairs towards a point and said that the matter was serious, the hon'ble Minister has asked as to what was serious in it? I agree that he is a top official of the Government but when a member says something in the House it has some importance. Madam, I want to draw your attention towards the matter regarding which our hon'ble Minister has introduced this Bill in the House. I want to tell you about the working capabilities of the Ministry of External Affairs. When the Minister of State was making a statement on 19 March, I asked a question and if you permit me I would like to read it out:

> "This question is very serious and I should like further clarification from the Hon'ble Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs. Is it not a fact that the passport authorities objected to the procedure and they said that such passports should not be allowed to Sheikh Abdullah and his entourage because they have not mentioned their nationality. The decision was taken at the highest level in the country and the rules of procedure for granting passports were waived by the highest men in the country. If so, what was the consideration and what was the political thing involved, because Sheikh Abdullah has been indulging in anti-Indian propaganda outside? Is it the intention of Government to grant passports by going out of their way to such persons who are indulging in anti-India propaganda? Is it the political expediency by which the Government is going to be guided?"

Madam, you were kind enough to seek further clarification.

Excuse me Deputy Chairperson Madam, you then said.

"Is it the general practice that anyone could fill in the column in this vague manner?"

Then what did Smt. Laxmi Menonji say:

"No, it is not the general practice because the column specially asks whether you are a citizen by birth, by registration by naturalization,

etc. Against that column Sheikh Abdullah and his party have written: Kashmiri Muslims. The matter was referred to the Ministry. The Chief Passport Officer referred it to the Commonwealth Secretary, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister. It is on their authority that the passport was granted."

Madam, I would like to tell you that it is an insult to this House that the two Ministers of the Ministry of External Affairs deliberately replied together against the dignity of this House. When they are asked to correct their statements they show us seriousness and tell us how serious this matter is. Madam, the Bill may be passed, and the powers may be given to the Ministry of External Affairs but this Ministry will not be able to solve the Nagaland problem or even any smallest problem, leave aside big problems, if it acts with such inactivity, incompetence and ignorance. I, therefore, would like to request the Minister of External Affairs to bring some change in the functioning at least at the level of Minister, if he wants the Ministry to work properly and efficiently.

Thanks.

COMMONWEALTH: INDIA'S MEMBERSHIP*

Madam Deputy Chairperson, I congratulate my friend, Shri Mohan Dharia, for bringing this Resolution before this House. I feel honoured to lend my wholehearted support to this Resolution. For certain people of the older generation, it may look sentimental. But I feel proud in asserting that as young students of the Allahabad University during 1949-50, we opposed the idea of India entering the Commonwealth and even at that time we did not think it proper to create this new community of certain nations without any common objectives. And even at that time this discussion was raised. But what was the point in entering the Commonwealth? The Minister of External Affairs will bear me out—at that time Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, pleaded with the country and with the leaders of the Government that partition was an unfortunate thing, that there should not have been a partition of the Indian sub-continent and that if we wanted to have closer relations between India and Pakistan, there should be a link, Mahatma Gandhi, a saint as he was, thought that the generosity of the British people would come to our help and that we would be able to keep better relations with Pakistan through British diplomacy. Not only that, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also agreed with this proposal. When on the 14 November I was attending a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party, I heard the speech of our Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. He said that Panditji never believed that anyone would tell a lie to him; he was so generous, he was so great-hearted, that he always thought that whatever was assured to him, would be adhered to. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, a great statesman, a generous personality which history seldom produces, believed in the words of imperialists. But I may submit, Madam, that very often certain political leaders fail to understand the real implication of imperialism. While Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi, out of generosity, had faith in the British motives, even today in 1965, with all the experience of 18 years, there are certain people in this country who come and plead that there should be restraint, they plead that the British people are not so bad as we think, that there are good people in Britain. Now, Madam, what has been the attitude of the British nation as such?

If you want to understand the attitude of British imperialism you have to visit a village in Scotland and any Scottish person will give you the

* Participating in the discussion in Resolution on withdrawal of India from membership of Commonwealth. Rajya Sabha Debate, 3 December 1965, *cc.* 3678-3684.

interpretation of the British history in its true perspective. For two hundred years Scotland has been a part of Britain of the U.K., but these Scottish people have not forgiven England. Madam, when last June I was in Scotland and I visited a war memorial of a battle-field, I was surprised when the Scottish Information Officer asked me to spit at it. I asked him, "Why should I do it?" He said that it was a token of the condemnation of the British imperialistic attitude that they invaded and subjugated their country. This is the attitude of the Scottish people towards Britain.

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Why? Because they are nearer home. They understand what the British people are. They understand what British imperialism is.

My friend, Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy, talked of the Labour Party's socialism. I have been always a great admirer of the British Labour Party. But during my one month stay in the U.K. I did not come across even a single British man who was pro-Indian. I discussed with many Members of Parliament. I discussed with the B.B.C. people. Some people say that the B.B.C. is not controlled by the Government there. They say that they are objective. You will be surprised to know, Madam, that during that one month they quoted from only two speeches made in the Indian Parliament in every meeting there, where ever I went, whether it was an official function or a function organised by the Press people, or a function organised by others. What were those two speeches? One speech was by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia where he had described the 'lucky dog' of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and it was given the front-page coverage, and the other was the sentence by Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, "We are prisoners of indecision". The British statesmen knew only these two speeches. The reply to Dr. Lohia given by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was never quoted. The reply given to Mrs. Pandit by Lal Bahadur Shastriji was never published in the British Press.

Not only on that occasion, what happened on the Rann of Kutch incident? At that time the Prime Minister's Conference was going on in London. While leaving India for the U.K., our Prime Minister had made a statement that he wanted peaceful co-existence and friendliness with Pakistan. Not a single British paper published his speech. On the other hand every little Pakistan version that the Indian soldiers were fleeing like flies was given the front page coverage. When I drew the attention of the Director of the B.B.C. to this, he said that this might be a mistake of judgement. Can you believe that this is just out of ignorance on the part of the Britishers?

Madam, the British Members of Parliament were pleading that there were no Muslims in India. When I told them that there are 5 million Muslims in India, they said, "Is it so?" Do you think that an intelligent nation like Britain does not know the simple fact of history. But they want to twist history. What is the reason?

Madam, the British imperialists have not reconciled to the fact that this sub-continent has become free. They feel that Pakistan is their creation and, therefore, it should be supported at any cost.

This morning some friends here were saying that the British Prime Minister, Mr. Wilson, did not make any speech describing India as an aggressor. Unfortunately, Madam, I could not get a copy of the British Information Service bulletin. In that bulletin in inverted commas, Mr. Wilson has been quoted as saying. "This is aggression", after our march into the Lahore sector. I do not remember the exact words but that is what it meant.

Not only that, when China gave an ultimatum to India in 1962, both the U.K. and the U.S.A. equivocally said that they would come to the aid of India. This time the U.S.A. said that the matter was serious and they would support the Indian Government. But what was the reaction of the British Prime Minister, Mr. Wilson? Mr. Wilson said, "We are observing the situation and we will make our comments when such a situation develops". Madam, even in the face of aggression from China when they were not equivocal, when they were not categorical in giving support to this country, what for should we be in the British Commonwealth? Madam, I ask any man who talks of sincerity, sobriety and gentlemanliness, what for do we go to London every year? Is it not a fact that we glorify the British Crown and the Prime Minister of that Crown runs down this country. It is against the self-respect of this country.

When the Prime Ministers' Conference was going on in London, the whole British Press was full of anti-Indian propaganda. Not even a single man came out to say that something good was going on in India. I challenge any man in this House to let me have one cutting from the British Press where Indian efforts at reconstruction, Indian efforts at revitalising our economy, have been published anywhere. It is because they have not forgiven us for attaining our freedom.

This sentimental reason apart, I shall like to draw your attention, Madam, to another factor. It is said that U.K. is not alone; there are 22 other nations. But what is the position of these 22 nations? Four white nations with 86 million population are the nation with all sophisticated scientific development, with all the modern technology, with all the amenities of life, while 640 million people living in the Afro-Asian countries, that is, coloured people, are still groaning under the pressure of squalor, poverty and disease. What has the Commonwealth done for these 640 million people? I shall not go into statistics, Madam. I have got full statistics with me.

*They say that economic questions are involved. What are the economic questions? The economic questions are that the British people have got their assets here. Do you know what is the average earning of the British assets in foreign countries? The average earning is 7 per cent but in India they earn 9.4 per cent.

In India they earn 9.4 per cent while in Pakistan they earn on their total assets only 3.2 per cent. This is the economic side of the situation. If you think in terms of external aid.....

**Yes. ... in external aid also, more than 50 per cent, comes from the U.S.A. If you take the World Bank and the U.N. Fund, hardly 11 per cent is from the U.K. Every time you take the aid every time you get the slander. Are you ready to tolerate this? Are you going to take this insult every time? I have no grudge against the British people. But I put it, through you, Madam, to this House for what are we in the Commonwealth? Only to be disgraced and dishonoured at every moment whenever a crisis comes before this country? I would like to make one more point. If you take the trade relations with the U.K., hardly 31 per cent of our total exports are to the U.K. and what do we import? Only 18 per cent is imported from the U.K. We are having 18 per cent of our imports from the U.K. and if we go into details, we will find there also that we are not in an advantageous position. If you take into consideration individual trade agreements, it will be an eye-opener. I do not know whether some Members have taken the trouble to study the agreement with one company of the U.K. about a cable factory. The Government of India, in 1949, entered into an agreement with a private company in the U.K. that the company would help us in establishing a cable manufacturing factory somewhere in Bengal and at that time the agreement was that in the coming twenty years if we are not able to produce to the fullest extent of our requirements, twenty five per cent of the remainder will be imported from the British company. Today the situation is that we are paying double the price. What we can get from Switzerland, or from Germany at half the price, we are getting from England because of an agreement in 1949 and that agreement is not only a private agreement but the British Post Office people are involved in it and on their certificate, on their assurance we take it at double the price. This has been brought out by the auditors in the last year's report. In this situation, if certain people want to plead that we should continue in the Commonwealth only because some twenty more countries are there, may I ask them through you as to what happened in Rhodesia, what has happened in Aden and what has happened in the other countries of the Commonwealth? Is it not a fact

* Replying to Shri R.P.N. Sinha's question, "How many years have elapsed?"

** In response to the comments, "which has also been stopped." made by Shri I.K. Gujral.

that the other day my distinguished colleague, Mr. Gujral*, raised the question of the bases...and at that time the hon. Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs said that the U.K. is not obliged to consult the Commonwealth countries. Where our vital interests are involved, even there the U.K. Government does not care to consult us and here are the people who say that the British Crown or the Queen of the U.K. is the head of the Commonwealth. For what? Is it for disgracing us, for dishonouring us, for taking advantage of our association with the Commonwealth and going to help Pakistan? In all humility I shall say to this House and specially the Foreign Minister that once, in the U.N.O. he said to the World Assembly: 'If you are not going to behave in an honourable way, we are not going to be here' and he walked out of it. When he could walk out of the U.N., what is the difficulty in walking out of this dead organisation, known as the Commonwealth? With this plea, I request through you, the Foreign Minister, to give serious thought to this proposition and I hope he will agree to the Resolution moved by my friend.

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* Shri Inder Kumar Gujral.

FIFTH SAARC SUMMIT*

I visited Maldives to participate in the Fifth SAARC Summit from 21 to the 23 November, 1990. The outcome of the Summit is incorporated in the Male Declaration and the Joint Press Release issued at the end of the Summit. Copies of these documents are laid on the Table of the House.

During my stay in Maldives, I had bilateral discussions with former President Ershad of Bangladesh, President Gayoom of Maldives, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan and Prime Minister Wijetunga of Sri Lanka. I also had the pleasure of meeting in Male His Majesty the King of Bhutan and Prime Minister Bhattarai of Nepal, but detailed bilateral talks with them were held after their arrival in New Delhi immediately after the Summit.

India took a number of initiatives at the Summit and the meetings preceding it, all of which were accepted and are reflected in the Male Declaration and the Joint Press Release.

At our suggestion, regional cooperation under SAARC has been extended to the field of biotechnology.

Our proposal to create a Fund for the identification and development of regional projects, to be financed by national development banks of the member-countries, was also accepted. We will host a meeting of the representatives of these banks to work out the precise modalities for the operation of the Fund.

India will also host the Second Ministerial Meeting on International Economic Issues to review the outcome of the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations and to coordinate the positions of the member-countries at the forthcoming UN Conference on Environment and Development. It was agreed that the same Ministerial meeting would also prepare a strategy for mobilising regional resources which would encourage and strengthen individual and collective self-reliance in the region.

We also suggested and it was decided that measures for establishing joint ventures in the field of cottage industries and handicrafts should be taken forthwith to set a stage for promoting collective self-reliance in the region.

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* Participating in the discussion on "Fifth SAARC Summit"; Lok Sabha Debate, 7 January 1991, *cc.* 505-508.

A major decision taken at the Summit was to establish three additional regional centres, namely, the Centre for Human Resource Development in Pakistan, the SAARC Documentation Centre in India and the SAARC Tuberculosis Centre in Nepal. We are taking necessary steps expeditiously to set up the SAARC Documentation Centre in India.

There were several other significant achievements at the SAARC Summit. We agreed to increase tourism to the region. We decided to facilitate greater contacts among our newspaper federations. We announced the 1990 as the Decade of the Girl Child. We launched a SAARC Travel Document to enable visa-free travel for some categories of people. Our Foreign Ministers signed an important Regional Convention on Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances.

My discussions with President Gayoom were very cordial and friendly. We have no bilateral problems between us and mainly discussed some of the major projects of mutual cooperation on which there was complete identity of views. President Gayoom was kind enough to accept my invitation to visit India. The visit will take place soon.

In my bilateral talks with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, I was impressed by his positive approach. He showed an awareness of the cost of both the countries of continuing an adversarial relationship as well as of the benefits inherent in a cooperative relationship. I fully reciprocated his sentiments and sought his cooperation in restoring trust and confidence between our two countries.

I expressed our concern at continuing support from across the border to terrorism in the States of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. I emphasised that this is a serious irritant in our relations. We agreed that all differences between India and Pakistan should be resolved peacefully and through dialogue and that the process of reconvening discussions on the various pending issues should be resumed.

Consequent upon our meeting, the Foreign Secretaries of India and Pakistan have met and made progress towards reaching agreement on several confidence building measures to reduce tension in our relations. They have also determined the time-table for the resumption of discussions on issues such as the demarcation of the land boundary at Sir Creek, the Tulbul Navigation Project and the meetings of the Sub-Commissions.

In my meeting with the Prime Minister Wijetunga I expressed our concern at the continuing ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, involving heavy casualties on both sides, including civilian casualties, and the resultant influx of refugees into India. I also emphasised that the Government of Sri Lanka should take measures for arresting and reversing the flow of refugees to India and

create conditions for their early return to Sri Lanka. We also discussed the possibility of expanding our cooperation in the trade and economic field.

Before concluding, I would like to reiterate India's commitment to South Asian cooperation under SAARC. This is essential for accelerating our economic development, for building individual and collective self-reliance and for enhancing our bargaining strength in multilateral negotiations. Such cooperation has become all the more necessary in the context of the present trend towards economic integration in the world. The Male Summit has substantial achievements to its credit. SAARC is now poised for launching itself upon the path of cooperation in the hard-core economic areas like trade, industry, energy, money, finance and environment. What is needed is the political will to move confidently in these new areas. Consistent with its size, resources and stage of development, India would continue to assume responsibility, and even make sacrifices, where necessary, to make SAARC an effective and full-fledged venture of regional cooperation.

REFUELLING OF U.S. PLANES*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we had a long debate. The matter concerns the whole nation. Not only the whole nation, the whole world is looking to our nation on this issue.

I also know that some of our Hon. Members are exercised over this problem. I can well understand their sentiments and emotions. I shall not like to go into all the details of the questions that have been raised. I shall try to refrain myself from going into the past. I shall not like to apportion blame to any other person or any other regime. I think that what has happened is the responsibility of this Government. The only thing is that I shall like to clarify certain points that have been raised by important Members. Otherwise, it will be considered as if I am trying to conceal something.

First, I shall take the speech made by hon'ble Shri Narasimha Rao about the free corridor given to US planes in this country. I tell this House that since this Government came, there is no free corridor to any Government anywhere. Why this free corridor was given at that time, I cannot answer. And I am not entitled to say about the past.

I shall like to tell my friend, Shri Gujral. He knows that it is customary in the international norms that every over-flight has to have a transit landing. Some hon'ble members said, transit landing gives the facility to the country concerned to check what is going in this particular aeroplane. This point was emphasised by hon'ble Shri Narasimha Rao. If you give a free corridor and transit landing is not compulsory, in my opinion, that is not a very happy situation. Free corridor is given only to the VIPs, Heads of State, Heads of Government or very important military personnel whose movement is notified beforehand. This is the custom. I am not very much conversant with the traditions and nuances of diplomacy but this has been the routine practice all over the world. And this is being done not only in relation to US but to many other countries. We have been allowing such facilities to almost every country—whether of one bloc or the other bloc. It has nothing to do with our non-alignment. It is the tradition which this country has been following for quite sometime. Mr. Speaker, Sir, whenever

* Replying to Motion for Adjournment 'Failure of Government to take timely decision about stoppage of Refuelling of US Planes', Lok Sabha Debate, 22 February 1991, *cc*. 563-574.

we allow a plane to go on our air space, we make it compulsory to land at one place, what we call as 'transit landing'. It becomes compulsory also to give them the refuelling facility because if a plane lands, refuelling is a must and every country gives it. Our planes and Airforce planes are perhaps flying, even at this moment, over 24 or 20 countries and we are getting that facility. There are bilateral arrangements with some of the countries that we do not ask them for having this transit landing but not with the USA. I want to make it clear. Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is true that a situation was developing in the Gulf and everybody knew that a war-like situation was there. We also knew that the situation may deteriorate and war may take place. And this is why when we gave them the permission, we took from them the guarantee that no lethal weapon would go. It is for the first time that the Government of India insisted for this type of guarantee. I do not want to make tall claims. But this was done and the Government of the United States of America agreed to this.

The other question which is very relevant and I agree with Mr. Narasimha Rao that it was in the normal times and times of peace. When the war started, at that time, it should have been stopped. Mr. Speaker, I may very frankly say that I did not see any serious departure from our old policies; I did not see even any departure from the old traditions or the old practices which have been followed during the last 40 years. I also did not see any threat to our non-alignment nor we got from any quarter any whispering doubt about our tilting to one side or the other. It has nothing to do with our policy of non-alignment. I say that the Government of India is sticking to non-alignment of course, with certain amount of flexibility depending on our national interests and that has been the practice again from the very beginning. My friend, Mr. Jaswant Singh told what happened in 1962 and 1971. He was in the war theatre. He knows more about it. I do not know. That is why, I shall not like to talk about it. Mr. Dinesh Singh was at the helm of affairs in those days. He might be knowing about it. So, it will not be proper to say that at that time there were no adjustability or adjustment in our policy in allowing people to fly or to refuel or to do things. But there was no agreement with any Government at any time. It was just a tradition that was being maintained and has been maintained. Mr. Speaker, when I saw the opinion developing in this country that this refuelling facility should not be given, I convened a meeting of the Opposition parties immediately. And I told them, "If you want, I can ask them to stop it today itself." But this is again not done in international dealings. My friend, Mr. I.K. Gujral knows, Mr. Narasimha Rao knows and Mr. Dinesh Singh knows. It is just not like saying "I allow you", "I do not allow you", because national interest is again involved. The only thing we can say is that "the situation is such that if this facility cannot be used by you, it will be

better". Immediately, when I came to know about the opinion, not of all sections of the House but important sections of the House, I immediately conveyed to the US Government that they should discontinue it. It takes some time. If I am at fault on that, you can blame me. But some of my friends have been trying to point an accusing finger and I feel sad, Mr. Speaker, when Mr. Gujral said whether the decision is being taken by this Government or by some extra-Constitutional authorities directing this Government. Mr. Gujral and myself have been friends for a long time. Mr. Speaker, you know that Mr. Gujral might have been getting directions from extra-Constitutional authorities at one time or the other. Never in my life I have taken any instructions from any extra-Constitutional authority. I shall not like to bring personal matters in this House..... I would not have taken up this personal matter if it would not have come from Shri I.K. Gujral. I would have ignored any other comment, but not from Shri I.K. Gujral whom I know for a long time and for whom I have got great regard and respect, and he at least knows me for quite some time. I may be lacking in anything, may not have his wisdom, or his nuances of foreign policy, but one thing I do not lack is courage and that is why when somebody asked whether we have given this facility, I said, yes. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I shall leave that matter there.

The other question was raised, and a very important question, by my friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta. He said whether the Government of India was doing something about the Gorbachev formula or whether they were sleeping over it. Shri Gujral also said that—he was very much awake and we were sleeping. But I do not know that. During the last one month, I have exchanged views with Mr. Gorbachev five times. Even today, at this moment, we are in constant touch with him. It does not mean him personally, but with the Government of USSR. Our permanent representative in the United Nations since yesterday or day before yesterday has been contacting all the members of the Security Council and of the nations of the non-aligned movement to see that we are able to restore the authority of the Security Council and the peace proposal is not left to certain people. We have said it clearly and categorically that we support the move made by the President of USSR. Not only this, we have been taking all measures, all initiatives; I shall not go into the details of that. During the last one month, envoys from all important countries who are supporting Saddam Hussain have visited Delhi and had discussions with me. None of them was as exercised as my friend, Shri Gujral is exercised.

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*Yes, Khashoggi also. He is a diplomat in your eyes, not in my eyes. I meet so many Khashoggis. But I am not talking of Khashoggis, I am talking of Arafat, I am talking of Algerian President's envoy, I am talking of the

* Replying to an hon. Member's query, "you met Khashoggi also".

Chinese Prime Minister, I am talking of the Iranian President and I am talking of the people who are concerned about the matter and who matter in this problem.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, everybody says that we have gone against Saddam Hussain and we have destroyed our relations with Saddam Hussain. I categorically want to say that our stand on the Palestinian question remains the same and I told everybody that on the Palestinian question there cannot be any compromise. We also said that our friendship with Iraq is there. Mr. Speaker, Sir, you will be pleased to know that in Egypt when the Iraq Embassy was closed, the President of Iraq, Saddam Hussain, chose none else but India, the inimical country, to look after Iraq's interest. This is the situation. But if people think that giving statements or trying to find bold words or pointing accusing fingers is part of the international politics, I do not know that.

*I do not know what you mean by Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Shri Rajiv Gandhi has been helping in finding a solution to this problem and I have been in constant touch and dialogue and consultation with Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Even today I say that while the Government is making efforts, I was talking of our permanent representative and I was talking of our Deputy Foreign Minister who is going to Tehran and Baghdad. Shri Rajiv Gandhi, along with Shri Narasimha Rao and others, is going tomorrow to Moscow enroute to Tehran in order to find a solution to this problem. It is not only Shri Rajiv Gandhi, I shall request Shri Gujral also, because he seems to have cordial relations with Saddam Hussain and others. I shall be ready to get his support. The efforts of anybody who is ready to contribute to establish peace in that area will be appreciated. When I said that I did not want to divide this nation on this issue. I sincerely meant it. We have many problems.....

Sir, if I cannot make myself intelligible to them, I cannot help it because I can give arguments and I can give facts, but I cannot give the brains to understand.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Shri Narasimha Rao asked a question. And the same question was asked, in a different language, by my friend Shri Indrajit Gupta. I assure you on the questions of policy, non-alignment is still relevant. It is relevant because we do not want that any power, whether one or the other, should take the responsibility of restoring peace in a particular region. If it is allowed in one region, it will affect us also. We are conscious of our interests.

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* Responding to an hon. Member's remark, "what about Shri Rajiv Gandhi?"

Shri Chitta Basu said that we should condemn the United States. I have not run the politics of condemnation. It is his Government which does it. I do not condemn people. I condemn the action of particular people and of particular nations. He would know it if he had read the newspapers. The day when there was a statement by the U.S. Vice-President that he would have to keep his options open to use nuclear weapons. I said that it was a crime against humanity. I said any talk of using nuclear weapons and any talk of chemical war would be a crime against humanity. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we oppose it. But there are certain methods in dealing with the situation. Some people feel that they should talk very boldly against some people. And some people have the instinct of self-condemnation and self-pity. They say that India has not been able to do anything and that India has been relegated to background. What has happened to France? What has happened to China? What has happened to Iran? What has happened to USSR?

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*If Shri Rajiv Gandhi has said so, he has also been doing something.... But some people are only saying all these things and doing nothing. That is the difference. If you do something, then you can say something.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, my friend Shri Indrajit Gupta wanted to know whether the Government of India has any knowledge about the Soviet move or not. We have some knowledge. But there are limitations. If the Government concerned say that this is a secret thing, a confidential thing, then the Prime Minister of another country howsoever insignificant he may be, has not got the liberty to express it to the press. This is the limitation. But now, the Soviet themselves have come out through TASS today.

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**Yesterday? The details of their proposals are with me. I shall just read out the points.

1. Iraq announces a full and unconditional withdrawal of its forces from Kuwait.
2. Withdrawal begins on the second day after the cessation of hostilities.
3. Withdrawal of forces will take place in a fixed time frame.
4. After withdrawal of two-thirds of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait, the economic sanctions imposed by the UN will cease to apply to Iraq.

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* Replying to Shri Basudeb Acharia's comments, "Shri Rajiv Gandhi said so!"
** Replying to Shri Basudeb Acharia's objection, "Not today, it was yesterday."

5. At the end of the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait, the causes would cease to exist, as also the causes for the corresponding resolutions so those resolutions would cease to be in effect.
6. Right after the cease-fire, all the prisoners of war would be immediately released.
7. Withdrawal of forces would be monitored by countries not directly involved in the conflict, being so entrusted by the Security Council.
8. The work on determining the details and specifications continues. The final outcome of this work will be made public today to member countries of the UN Security Council.

This is what has come.

Mr. Speaker, it may be just a coincidence. I do not want to claim any credit. Out of these eight points, four points have been taken up by our U.N. Representative from the very beginning for the consensus in the Security Council and outside. It must be just a coincidence or it must be just a luck for the Government of India..... That is what you may be saying.

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*So, this is what you have been doing.

If you want our reactions, we are for supporting this move. I have been told that the President of the United States of America has certain reservations on this. Though I am told that at one stage, they said that they will be discussing with their allies and they will come to some decision but at the lower level, somebody has said that they would reject this formula for this proposal by the Soviet Union. It will be a grave mistake. I may make an appeal from this House that Mr. George Bush should take this opportunity—should not miss this opportunity—in order to establish peace in that area. It provides a beginning for a meaningful dialogue, for a talk, to come to some conclusions. I have got certain information about his reservations but I do not think it will be prudent to talk about reservations of the President of the United States of America. I hope and trust that he will be able to discuss with allies and come to some understanding because in war nobody triumphs. In war only humanity is defeated. It is the agony, it is the suffering of the people that makes us think about it. We are more concerned about it. Mr. Faleiro told perhaps that we have special concerns because our citizens are involved in it. More than 5,000 of our people even today are in Kuwait and we feel concerned about it. These were the people

* Replying to Dr. Biplab Dasgupta's comment, "certainly."

who refused to come out of Kuwait even till this last moment. I shall not like to go into the details, as to what initiatives we have taken; how we tried to see that the deadline should be postponed, something should be done. Repeatedly, we tried but when the stubbornness comes in the minds of certain people, not only the voice of India was not heard, the voice of USSR, the voice of China, the voice of Iran, the voice of even very friendly persons like Mr. Yasser Arafat and others and even the French voice did not carry any conviction with them. I do hope and trust that now the atmosphere has changed and I agree that India has to play a very important role because we are concerned with the developments in the Arab world. We have our relations for a long time. I shall not like to go into the history, otherwise, again I shall jump into the controversy raised by Mr. Jaswant Singh and Mr. Gujral. I am not that good a student of history but our recent history with the Arab world and especially with Iraq has been that of cordiality and friendship. We shall never like to see that dismemberment of Iraq. We want that their political unity and integrity should be maintained. My friend Mr. Indrajit Gupta wanted to know whether we stand by the U.N. Resolution or not. If we have to remain in U.N., then we will have to stand by U.N. Resolution but the question is that of interpretation, that of its area, how long it can be stretched in order to find convenience to have your move. It is a delicate issue. I shall appeal to Members that they should give some concession to the Prime Minister who has never been in the Government and has never been in the international affairs.

All other Members seem to be more knowledgeable about the international affairs and the happenings in the world. But what little I know through the good offices of our Ambassador, our Foreign Office and brilliant statements, sometimes issued by all of you, I have tried to take them into consideration and I have tried to live upto your expectations. If there are any faults why do you divide the country on this issue? Are there not enough problems? I shall appeal to the Members—I am told that in the other House, there has been a unanimous Resolution—through you, Mr. Speaker, that let us remain united on this problem, in the interest of world peace, in the interest of the rights of humanity, especially of the downtrodden, of the exploited, of the developing world of the poor nations of the world, because they look towards us with expectations and hope.

SITUATION IN GULF*

Mr. Chairman, Sir, as the hon'ble Members are aware, all the efforts made by the Security Council on 23rd February to stop the war and restore peace in the Gulf region proved of no avail. The ground war has started and has been going on for the last two days. Its consequences are going to be really devastating. Iraq and Kuwait may be destroyed almost beyond recognition. Hundreds of thousands of the people of those two countries are likely to suffer and many more thousands of innocent lives are likely to be lost. The use of weapons of mass destruction, which I have already characterised as a crime against humanity, cannot be ruled out.

In the Security Council, which was convened at the initiative of the Soviet Union and where the Gorbachev proposals were submitted, the Indian delegation tried every possible means to seek reconciliation between the differing positions of the parties to the conflict and prepare a framework for bringing the war to an end. A majority of the Member-countries accepted our suggestions to prepare a paper as a basis for achieving this result. In fact, at one stage, the President of the Council even thought of entrusting the task for preparing a draft to India, Equador and Austria. Unfortunately on account of the rigid position taken by a few Members of the Council, that for the present the Council has no role to play, it became impossible for the Council to discharge its responsibilities under the Charter. The Council stands paralysed since then. We have approached Governments of the Member-countries of the Council in their capitals to send instructions to their representatives in New York to activate the Council so that it can play its due role. We are awaiting their response. In the meantime, we are keeping in touch with all the representatives of the Member-countries in New York to see what the Council can do. The immediate task is to bring about a cessation of hostilities on the basis of the total withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait within a time-bound framework. The Security Council should, without further waste of time, take in hand this pursuit of peace. Thank you.

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**It is true that there was a suggestion that we should have a unanimous resolution. There was some reservation from some sections of the House.

* Making Statement as P.M. Lok Sabha Debate, 25 February 1991, *cc*. 531-534.

** Replying to Shri Saifuddin Choudhury's queries, "Sir, even what the Prime Minister has said is a very serious matter. In the morning, we raised the issue and we wanted a unanimous resolution to be passed from the House to express our views on the outbreak of ground war and tried to appeal to the world community so that there is cessation of hostilities. That resolution is there with the Chair. What happened to that?

But I had a discussion with the leaders of political parties and all agreed that the Government should make a statement. This statement was shown to them and it was agreed to by all the political parties. I think, on this issue of such a serious nature, we should not divide the House.

*Mr. Chairman, Sir 107 or 109 Indian Nationals are still there in Iraq and we are finding it difficult to evacuate them right now. Earlier when they were asked to leave that country, they were not ready to do so. But our main concern is about Kuwait where about 5000 of our nationals are still entrapped. Many of them were not prepared to come to India before the war broke-out and even immediately after the war broke out. The problem today is that it is very difficult to evacuate them if not impossible. However, we have requested the parties involved in the war to extend whatever help they can to protect our nationals.

**It is not correct that all other embassies are working there. No SAARC country, no Gulf country, no country from the Western world has an embassy working there. If I am correct, only two to three countries have got their embassies there. We are amongst the last three countries to evacuate, according to my information. I may be wrong also. Only Soviet Union and Cuba have got their skeleton staff there. We have not made any arrangement with any other country. We have asked our diplomatic staff to be stationed in Tehran and look after the interests of India from Tehran.

[$]As you know, as is the situation in Kuwait, evacuation is almost impossible. We are trying evacuation from Iraq. I cannot assure the House that we are in a very safe position to say that they will be evacuated because people are not ready to move out of their houses due to the war situation as it exists today.

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* Replying to Prof. Mahadeo Shiwankar's query, "Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister whether he is taking any steps to evacuate the Indian Nationals entrapped in Iraq"?

** Replying to Prof. Ramganesh Kapse's comments, "All other nations are having their embassies and only our embassy is closed."

[$] Answering to Prof. P.J. Kurien's question, "What will be done to bring them here? Can you do something about that? There are about 4000 people in Kuwait also."

GULF WAR 1991*

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, first I shall like to respond to the suggestion given by you. My colleagues in this House and in the other House suggested that today we should pass some resolution expressing our concern about the situation developing in the Gulf area. This afternoon I consulted leaders of various political parties and we came to the understanding that everyday the Parliament should not pass Resolutions. But with their consultation, I made a statement in the other House on the recent Gulf problem and I shall like to make that statement in this House before I take up the matter that has been taken up in this debate. With your permission Mr. Vice-Chairman, I read the statement.

"As the hon'ble Members are aware, all the efforts made by the Security Council on 23rd February to stop the war and to restore peace in the Gulf region proved to be of no avail. The ground war has been started and has been going on for the last two days. Its consequences are going to be really devastating. Iraq and Kuwait may be destroyed almost beyond recognition. Hundreds of thousands of people of these two countries are likely to suffer and many more thousands of innocent lives are likely to be lost. The use of weapons of mass destruction, which I have already characterised as a crime against humanity, cannot be ruled out. In the Security Council meeting which was convened at the initiative of the Soviet Union and where the Gorbachev proposals were submitted, the Indian delegation tried every possible means to seek reconciliation between the differing positions of the parties to the conflict and prepare a framework for bringing the war to an end. The majority of the countries accepted our suggestion to prepare a paper as the basis for achieving this result. In fact at one stage the President of the Council even thought of entrusting the task of preparing a draft to India, Ecquador and Austria. Unfortunately on account of the rigid position taken by a few members of the Council, that for the present the Council had no role to play, it became impossible for the Council to discharge its responsibilities under the Charter. The Council stands paralysed since then. We have approached Governments of the member-countries of the Council in their capitals to send instruction to their representatives in New York to activate the Council so that it can play its due role. We are awaiting their response. In the mean time we are getting in touch with all the

* Participating in the discussion on "Gulf War 1991", Rajya Sabha Debate, 25 February, 1991, *cc.* 320-333

representatives of the member-countries in New York to see what the Council can do. The immediate task is to bring about a cessation of hostilities on the basis of total withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait within a time-bound framework. The Security Council should without further waste of time, take in hand the pursuit of peace."

Mr. Vice-Chairman, we feel grave concern about the situation. When I came to this House, the latest message I got was—which is not yet confirmed—that out of 200 oil-wells in Kuwait, almost a hundred were on fire. If this is the situation, we do not know where the war will lead humanity to in the coming few days. This is the total situation.

I would like to share the information with the hon. Members that in spite of all handicaps, all the stubborn positions taken by various groups, India has been pursuing and even now is pursuing every possible way to see that we find some opening in order to establish peace in that area.

One hon. Member, my friend, Mr. Upendra, was very much concerned as to who was representing India in Tehran, whether Shri Digvijay Singh or Shri Rajiv Gandhi. He knows that at least, that Government of India is represented by the Ministers there. But in the other House I said two days back that any hon. Member who could contribute something in order to bring peace in that region would always be welcome. Shri Rajiv Gandhi has gone there on the invitation of Iran and also has met the President of the USSR, Mr. Gorbachev, in order to find ways whether something can be done to establish peace, to bring peace in that area. On the same day I suggested that if my friend, Shri Gujral could contribute something, he would be welcome to do so. The same invitation I extend to my friend, Mr. Upendra. If he can contribute something in this situation, we don't go on prestige, we don't go on formalities. Anybody who can contribute something for bringing peace in that area will be welcome from the side of the Government. I think on that we need not make an issue of this type of formality. This is what I wanted to make clear.

The other thing my friend was very much agitated that I was solely responsible for permitting the refuelling facility to America. In the other House I said—I shall not go into the past, I would not like to apportion blame to anybody else—the decision to allow American planes to refuel in India was that of the Government of India of which I am the Prime Minister today and I take the full responsibility without finding any *alibi* from any other source. But there are certain things which should not be distorted. I would not like to go into the past, I would not like to go into the record as to who did what. But one thing I should make quite clear in order to keep India's position intact and clear in the world opinion, that at no time was there any agreement signed, whether at the time of Indira Gandhi or

Rajiv Gandhi or even Vishwanath Pratap Singh, for refuelling or for overflights. I would like to make it clear to my friend Shri P. Upendra on one point. I shall like to correct you. The position is that, according to international norms, if we allow any aeroplane to fly over our air space, it is the practice that there should be a transit landing. Transit landing is compulsory, because then the country can use her sovereignty to inspect what it is carrying. This is not done when the aeroplane is flying a VIP, Head of a Government or an Army General. This is the practice not only in India, but also all over the world. I do not know what Mr. Upendra has to say. He must be knowing about his Government's performance at that time. I shall not say a word about what they did at that time, but, let us not get confused whether overflight is justified or not. Overflight is more serious, when you allow overflight over your territory. Then, after landing, refuelling is a normal practice and refuelling is not something special. If the plane lands at a particular airport, refuelling is done and it is done all over the world. Mr. Vice-Chairman, even today, to this day while I am talking in this House, normally, in 16 or 20 countries our Air Force planes are flying with all these facilities. I shall not go into these details.

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*By 'army general' I mean Army Chief, After my speech, you can ask.

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So, Sir, it was for the first time, that the Government of India got a categorical assurance from the Government of the United States of America that they will not carry any lethal weapons or any war material and it will be used for humanitarian purposes.....

**Inspection is not made generally.

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At least let me complete the sentence. What I was trying to refer to is that in the civilized behaviour, in the international world these types of inspections are generally not held. If there is some doubt, the country has the sovereign right to inspect. That is what I said. But our own planes are not..... Unless and until there is a very worthy doubt about it, we normally do not do it. That is what I was telling.

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* In reply to the question, "I would like to have a clarification. The hon. Prime Minister said that the Head of a State is permitted without any inspection and the same is true even in case of Army Generals. What does that mean? There are hundreds and thousands of army generals in the world today and their number is increasing. So, is there any category of army generals and is that category defined or anybody calling himself an army general...interruptions...is treated like that? raised by Dr. Z.A. Ahmad.

** Replying to Shri V. Gopalsamy's question, "Was the inspection made?"

I am just telling the fact. I am not asking you to agree with it. You may have your own reservations. Members have the right to make comments. But any abusive language is not going to change the situation. And this is not the situation that has been established by the Government of India. What I say is that it is the international norm, it is the international behaviour. But what I say is that no sooner I saw that there was some objection to the refuelling facility being provided—as I told you earlier, refuelling is a normal thing—when war took place there was a section of political opinion in this country which said that this should not have been allowed. I said at that time, when the House was not in session, that on international questions I shall not like the country to get divided, and if the country so feels we can ask them not to refuel their planes here. I did it. And before the Parliament came to session, it was accepted by all that there is no refuelling facility being provided in this country to the US planes. That was the end of the matter. Before that I had discussions with all the leaders of political parties.

But, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I shall like to emphasize one point. International politics is the politics of hard reality. It is the politics of the impossible. Hon'ble Members are very much exercised. I would like to share with them this fact which is nothing secret. Today India is asking for reconvening a meeting of the Security Council so that the proposal of the USSR is implemented and we are not getting support from anybody, including the USSR, China and others. This is the hard reality of life. The people may be exercised over it. I understand your feelings. I also have the feeling of agony over the disaster and devastation that are taking place. I am glad that Members are so much sensitive about the human suffering. But we can avoid human suffering only when we are able to understand the objective situation as it is operating today. Many Members have made an accusation that India was sleeping, in slumber. My friend, Mr. Upendra said that we did not take the initiative. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, with all humility, I would like to emphasise that before war took place, I wrote letters to President Bush, to President Gorbachev and also to the President of Yugoslavia, who is the Chairman of the NAM. And at that time I told them, at least postpone this day so that war does not take place. I got a response. I am not expected to share the messages that I got. People are stubborn. Nothing is possible. What should we do? Some Indians have got the tendency of self-condemnation that we are helpless, we have been relegated to the background. But, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, what happened to China? What happened to Iran? What happened to the USSR? What happened to the other Non-aligned countries? What happened to the countries which are round about the area, in the theatre of war? What happened to all the Arab countries? Everybody was helpless. And that helplessness is shared by India also because some people are very stubborn. It is not a fact, it is not correct to say that we did not take the initiative. Even today, when the war is going on, we are

taking all possible initiatives in order to see that there is cessation of war because in war, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the victor and the vanquished, both meet the same fate. It is humanity that suffers. And if humanity suffers, its implications are there for a long time. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we have good relations with the Arab countries. When I talk of Arab countries, I mean all the Arab countries. Some people say that we have compromised our position on Palestine. Who says it? We have said time and again that we stand for the liberation of Palestine. But it does not mean that we should support the subjugation of Kuwait. I do not understand this logic. Nobody in the world has said that in order to support the liberation of Palestine, we should support the subjugation of Kuwait.

*Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am very grateful to my friend, Mr. Upendra, for making a very positive suggestion. In the course of his speech also, he made a suggestion. He said that his leader, when he was the Prime Minister, sent Tau to China in order to get some breathing time and that I should also follow the same practice. Unfortunately that is not my value-based politics, and I am not going to follow it.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I want to assure this House that we are doing everything possible in order to see that war does not continue in that area. But the problem is that some people have taken a stubborn position. And I shall not like to accuse people. Some pepole said that we should condemn the USA. One of my friends was saying that I am an American agent. And I was told that some of my very good friends were very much annoyed. Specially, I was surprised and shocked that my very good friend, Mr. Shiv Shanker, for whom I have great respect said that I should apologise to the nation for what I did. I am ready to apologise if it makes the war position better in that country. But, I did not take it seriously. Mr. Shiv Shanker's speech sounded to me like a song being sung by a computerised instrument which was programmed a little earlier. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I do not take exception to his words. Sometimes people speak without meaning it. And I am quite sure that Shiv Shankerji…*(Interruptions)*…

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, that is why I am not taking his remarks seriously.

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**I am taking him seriously, not his remark. The other friend was Mr. Chaturanan Mishra. Unfortunately he is not here. He also questioned me about…*(Interruptions)*… He also asked for my apology. I seriously tell you,

* Speaking in response to Shri Parvathaneni Upendra's remarks, "Will you please yield for a minute? Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, what we meant by a greater Indian initiative in this. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has gone on a mission. We would have wished the Prime Minister himself had gone on a similar mission. Particularly when there is no Budget or anything here, he should have gone and made those efforts instead of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi going there."

** Replying to Shri Makhan Lal Fotedar's request, "You need not take him seriously".

Mr. Vice-Chairman if apology serves any purpose, if it makes the situation better, I have no hesitation. But unfortunately, I don't share the universalised patriotism of Mr. Chaturanan Mishra. I see India's interest first. And that is why my limitations are there. I don't think that I can do something in the spirit of serving the whole humanity without taking into consideration the interest of my own mother land. There are certain possibilities with which we can go along but beyond possibilities, if we go into the realm of fantasies I don't think we are doing a service to this country. I am glad that there was a lone voice, but very effective voice, and that of my Gurudev, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, who at least has expressed confidence in me that I cannot be sold away to any nation. There are people…*(Interruptions)*…

I am already sold to this. I have no hesitation to say because Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I don't want any certificate about my patriotism from anybody. I am a very small man but I have also done something for the country. I have also a track record in politics. I may lack anything but I don't lack courage. If I do a thing, I do it openly and I say it openly. I do not hesitate. I am not a person who goes on saying one thing and doing another thing…(Interruptions)*…You may not agree with me:…*(Interruptions)*…That is parliamentary democracy. I shall beg the hon. Members, they may differ with me…*(Interruptions)*…

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I just inform you that the situation is getting serious everyday. We feel concerned and we feel more concerned about the post war situation. We think that the security of that region should be the concern of the powers in that region. Any outside power should not take the responsibility or the authority to do the police work. It is the responsibility of the Arab people to see that that region is secure. I hope and trust, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that a new situation will soon emerge, that Arab nationalism will assert itself and they will use their good offices to stop the war and they will together try to see that no foreign power interferes in future for the security of that area, because that is a matter of concern to all of us, because all the developing nations of the world, all the poorer and weak nations of the world feel concerned about it. The mightier people may try to interfere in the affairs of smaller nations. It is unfortunate that a situation had developed where that possibility has become quite obvious, has become a reality. So that this possibility should not become a reality, all the developing nations, specially the countries of the non-aligned world should join together. We are making an endeavour in that direction and I assure you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, and through you, this nation that India has never deviated and will never deviate from the principles of non-alignment, and India will always stand for the integrity

* In reply to Shri Parvathaneni Upendra's comment, "Atalji said that you cannot be sold to foreign interest but you can be sold to Indian interest."

and dignity of the smaller nations. India has always said that we shall not browbeat any smaller nation, and also we shall never be browbeaten by any powerful nation. This is the crux of non-alignment, and this is the crux of India's foreign policy. We have pursued this policy, and in the given situation, with all the limitations, India has tried to bring peace in that area and we shall continue to make an effort in that direction. I hope that the days of darkness will be over and a new era of hope and confidence will emerge very soon and India will always play a meaningful and peaceful role in that direction. Thank you.

RUSSIAN AGGRESSION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA*

Madam Deputy Chairperson, I rise to speak today with a deep sense of sorrow and shame. It is because of two reasons. I was born in the Gandhi-Nehru era of our motherland with glorious traditions, of high ideals of compassion, tolerance, peace and love and I also adhere to the socialist principles enunciated by great thinkers like Karl Marx, Lenin and Rosa Luxembourg. When I speak today I am reminded of those great people who have given an impetus to me to come to politics and to do social service. Madam Deputy Chairperson, I emphasise this point for the benefit of those friends who call themselves Socialists and Marxists and who profess themselves to be progressive. If you go into the motive force behind the Marxist ideology, Marx himself said that the greatest problem of human life is the dignity of mankind. Madam Deputy Chairperson, I shall try to refresh the memory of those progressive Members of this House that after the Russian Revolution when the news was given to Lenin that small children of the Czar had been killed by somebody, tears rolled down the eyes of the great revolutionary, Lenin. Not only this, Madam Deputy Chairperson, I am reminded of that historic letter written by that revolutionary Rosa Luxembourg to her friend. She said that when she read the news of the deforestation in Austria, her mind went to the chirping birds in the trees. What would happen to those small birds? This was the ideal, this was the feeling of the people who enunciated the great principle of socialism. If you come to our own country, Madam Deputy Chairperson, this Government which claims to be the heir, which claims to get the heritage of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.... it has become more shameful for me to see this kind of attitude of this Government. Mahatma Gandhi long back gave us a slogan, a sermon, that you should have the courage to stand against all tyranny, against all oppression, even if you are a lovely man. The very principle of Satyagraha was based on this basic understanding that even a single individual should challenge the tyranny in any part of the world. Not only did he profess it, but when he was a lonely man in the dark forests of Africa, he went round and suffered all humiliation, all suffering in order to evolve this principle. I am surprised at the ignorance of the people who are running the External Affairs Ministry today, because I have been hearing for the last few days that it will be wrong to pass any

* Participating in discussion regarding entry of Soviet Forces in (Czechoslovakia) Rajya Sabha Debate, 23 August 1968, *cc*. 4300-4306

condemnatory resolution because it will not be in keeping with the traditions of this great Parliament. It has been told time and again that it has not been customary in this House to pass such a resolution. With your permission, Madam Deputy Chairperson, because time is very short, I shall give only some salient points.

It was the 28 March 1960. Some resolution was moved in the two Houses of the Parliament. It was moved by no less a person than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The resolution pertained to firing in Langa township in South Africa and the resolution deplored the activities and of the action of the Government there. What Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru observed at that time in the Parliament, I quote:

> "It is not the custom of this House normally to consider such matters which are supposed to he in the internal jurisdiction of another country; nor indeed would we like other countries to consider matters in the internal jurisdiction of this country. That is the normal practice, and it is the right practice. However, sometimes things happen and occurrences take place which are not normal at all, but are exceedingly abnormal and then it becomes rather difficult if some convention come's in the way of the expression of a feeling which is deep-seated and powerful. After all this House is and ought to be in some measure a mirror of our people's feelings."

This is what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the architect of the foreign policy of this country, said. It was an internal matter of South Africa, but Pandit Nehru said that if some such incidents take place and if sentiments are very powerful, then it becomes a duty of this House, of this country, that we should express the indignation, anguish and anger of the country through this Parliament. I do not know whether persons sitting in the External Affairs Ministry, whether they are officers or political leaders have ever cared to understand the sentiments expressed by our great leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I see some pseudo-progressives who always talk of Nehru's policies and who always support everything which the Government brings forward on the ground that otherwise it will be a departure from the policy of Pandit Nehru. And what, in their opinion, is the policy of Pandit Nehru? The policy, according to them is non-alignment. Nothing can be more stupid than to repeat this word of non-alignment again and again as the fundamental of our foreign policy. Pandit Nehru never thought that non-alignment was the fundamental of our foreign policy. It is a technique, it is a strategy. The fundamentals of our foreign policy were expounded in the five great principles, the Panchsheel. Pandit Nehru—I do not want to quote again because I do not have time—in a joint communique with the Czechoslovak Prime Minister, here in Delhi, said that these five principles

of Panchsheel, are the cardinal principles which should guide our international policy. May I ask this Government, in all humility, through you, Madam Deputy Chairperson, on both these points, whether an abnormal situation has arisen or not? Do they think that sweeping over a whole nation is a normal thing in international behaviour? Do they think that the marching of the five Warsaw Pact countries' troops into the territory of Czechoslovakia is a matter which should be taken lightly, is in accordance with the principles of Panchsheel and/or is a matter on which sentiments should be very sober and polite? It is said "We will lose our manoeuvreability." What manoeuvreability have you got? You have no manoeuvreability when your interests were involved. In spite of all your friendship, only a month back, you were saying that it is the business of the Soviet Union to sell arms to Pakistan. You could not safeguard your own interests by your power of manoeuvreability. It is only naive to say that manoeuvreability will be used in favour of another country by their good wishes and good offices. Nothing can be more wrong, nothing can be more irrelevant in the present context.

Madam Deputy Chairperson, I emphasize this point again and again that whenever any policy or any stand of the Government is attacked, it is thought that it is something reactionary. It is thought that it is a departure from the cardinal principles enunciated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Madam Deputy Chairperson if this Government is hesitant or vacillating in condemning the aggression in Czechoslovakia, they are guilty of departing from the principle enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi or even by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the Foreign Minister of this country because I have quoted from this book—"India's Foreign Policy", published by this Government itself—where Pandit Nehru has said that if an abnormal situation arises the indignation and anger of this country should be expressed through this House. The Government is guilty of dereliction of duty in not giving an opportunity to this House and to the Parliament to express the indignation, anger and anguish of the people of this great country.

Madam, I would like to mention another point in connection with what is being said by my friends who are supposed to be progressive and socialist. For them perhaps Lenin was never born. I hear every time in their polemics the theory of the right of self-determination. Where is that theory of the right of self-determination? I do not think even the greatest exponent of Marxism or Leninism will say or assert that what is being done by the troops of the Warsaw Pact countries in Czechoslovakia is any way consistent with the theory of the right of self-determination to nations expounded by the great socialist thinker, Lenin. I am surprised, Madam Deputy Chairperson, that irrerlevant points are raised in this discussion. I do not know how America comes into it, how other things come into it. I am one of those who have condemned the Americans for their action in Vietnam. I am one

of those who have condemned their action in Guatemala or Cuba. I am one of those who feel that aggression or intervention in any part of the world by any power is deplorable, condemnable and reprehensible. But can any one say that if tanks and machineguns of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact allies enter that country, they would only shower flowers and not killing bullets? It will be a most condemnable and unfortunate and tragic event of socialist history if the socialists throughout the world take this attitude. Madam Deputy Chairperson I shall quote now what one of the great socialists, who is a partner in this attack on Czechoslovakia says. He says:

> "An alliance in politics in always based on mutual interest. Where there is no mutual interest, the alliance must cease to exist. Without the alliance with the Soviet Union, Poland would not be able to stand up to German imperialism. She would not be able to exist as an independent State."

This is what Mr. Gomulka said. The worry of Mr. Gomulka is that the sovereignty and integrity of Poland should be maintained. If the Czech leader, Mr. Dubcek asserts the same right.....

Madam, I am reminded of another occasion when the Nazis were in occupation of Czechoslovika. After the Nazi occupation was over, a very monumental book was published and it was read throughout the world. I hope all hon'ble Members know about this book. It is "Notes from the Gallows" by Julius Fuchik. He was a war prisoner of the Nazis in Czechoslovika. He was done to death and many years after his death, some portions of his diary were published in the form of this book. I will quote a few sentences in order to bring home the solemnity of this occasion and the gravity of the situation to the deaf and dumb people who are at the head of our Foreign Ministry. I quote, Madam, he says:

> "The bare wall before their staring eyes became a screen on which they projected more scenes than have ever been filmed, as they waited to be called to another hearing, to torture, to death. The film of one's whole life or of some minor moment of life, a film of one's mother, wife or children, of one's broken home or ruined life. Films of courageous comrades—or of betrayal. The film of the man to whom I gave that anti-Nazi leaflet, of blood which is flowing again, of a firm grip of the hand which held me loyal. Films full of horror or of brave decision, of hate or love, fear and hope. our backs turned to life, each of us died here daily before his own eyes. But not all were reborn.
>
> I have seen the film of my life a hundred times, thousands of details. Now I shall attempt to set it down. If the hangman's noose strangles before I finish, millions remain to write its happy ending."

This was the sentiment expressed from the gallows by Julius Fuchik. I warn Madam Deputy Chairperson, all those defenders of the Soviet Union that this great martyr Fuchik's voice is still ringing in their ears. Can you put your hand on your heart and ask how many thousand mothers and sisters in the streets of Prague are today weeping and crying because of the torture and tyranny of the Soviet Union and their allies? If on this occasion our country and our nation is not going to condemn this action, what more occasion will arise in the history of mankind when this great country of Mahatma Gandhi, of Buddha and Asoka, of Panchsheel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, will rise in revolt against this tyranny, this torture of humanity, by these people?

In the end, Madam, I quote one slogan which was raised only a few months back in the streets of Poland. Some students and some labourers there also rose in revolt and they quoted a couplet from a poet of Poland. I quote:

"They will make me free—where the news came from I do not know;

But I know what freedom means if granted by Moscow.

Scum, they will just take fetters off my hands and feet,

But shackle the soul."

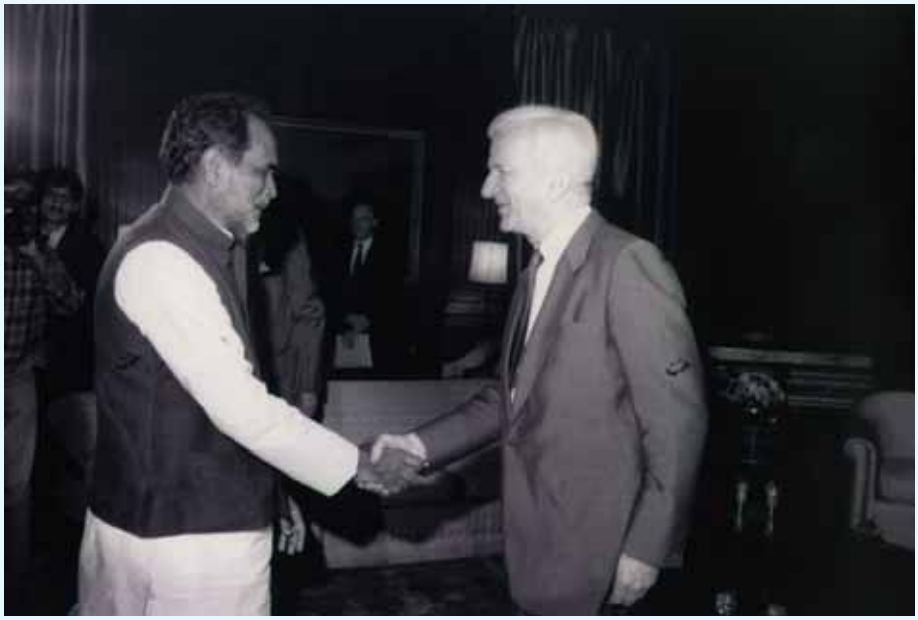
This was written by Mickiewiez, a great Polish poet. On this what had Mr. Gomulka to say? He said:

> "From the epoch in which he wrote we are separated not only by almost one hundred and fifty years but also by the Great October Revolution."

I ask you, Madam Deputy Chairperson and through you this House, the Prime Minister and the Minister of State sitting here whether the apprehension of this great Polish poet is not true even today. The voice which was raised by all socialists, which was raised by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi is now going to be extinguished, demolished and shattered; it is a shame; it is a matter of anguish. Being an Indian citizen, being born in the country of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, I have no other feeling but the feeling of anguish and shame at the behaviour of the present Government. Thank you.

**With the Prime Minister of Zambia, Mr. Malimba Masheke,
New Delhi, 24 May 1991**

**In conversation with the Vice-President of the United States of America,
Mr. Dan Quayle, New Delhi, 24 May 1991**



**With the German President, H.E. Dr. Richard von Weizsaecker,
New Delhi, 1 March 1991**

**In conversation with the Vice-President of USSR, Mr. G.I. Yanayev,
New Delhi, 24 May 1991**

**With the special envoy of Yemen, Mr. Mohsin Alhmdani,
New Delhi, 30 January 1991**

**In conversation with the President of Maldives, Mr. M. A. Gayoom,
New Delhi, 25 January 1991**

With the Parliamentary delegation from the Republic of Korea, New Delhi, 7 January 1991

In conversation with the Prime Minister of Nepal, Mr. K.P. Bhattarai

**With the Chinese Premier, Mr. Li Peng,
New Delhi, 12 December 1991**

**With the Prime Minister of Nepal, Mr. G. P. Koirala,
New Delhi, 6 December 1991**

With the King of Bhutan, Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck,
New Delhi, 24 November 1990

With the President of Romania, Mr. Ion Iliescu,
New Delhi, 11 January 1991

**With the Hungarian President, Mr. Arpad Goncz,
New Delhi, 10 April 1991**

CONFIDENCE MOTION

CONFIDENCE MOTION, 1990*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, most regretfully I am participating in this discussion. I am not rising to criticise any individual, I have stood up to look within and to assess as to what we did during the last eleven months. What we have done so far to emulate principles in our actual lives, which we have been talking about. I would like to submit in clear words that we may have difference of opinion on such issues like secularism with Bharatiya Janta Party. But what I have learnt from democracy is that inspite of our differences we should work together to take the country forward.....

I understand that in spite of difference of opinion we should carry on through mutual discussions and we formed this Government on this basis only. It does not matter whether the Members belong to the Left Parties or to the Janata Dal, we should not forget that we made a pact with the B.J.P. because the country was in danger. We should work together to save the country from that danger. Our friends are very angry, but this anger cannot solve the problems the country is facing. The situation of the country today is worse than what it was during the last eleven months. Is it not a fact that there has been increase in terrorism, inequality, unemployment and rise in prices in the country? Is it not true that there has been increase in social tension and Punjab, Kashmir and Assam are reeling under terrorism? In the villages people are becoming thirsty of each other's blood in the name of religion and caste. Whether any introspection to find out who is responsible for bringing the country to such a situation and why? I request the hon'ble Prime Minister that it is not any drama to run the Parliament. The hon'ble Prime Minister is in the habit of seeing the lifeless objects only. But a jeep or a trolley does not run on its own, it is the driver who makes them run. If the driver is inexperienced neither the jeep will run nor the trolley. I regret to say that when the driver is incapable of driving a jeep or a trolley, how can he drive properly. Therefore, I would like to submit if you want to raise the question of principles, you should first raise the question of secularism. Secularism is the first test of human sensitivity. A person who is not sensitive cannot be secular. In spite of our divergent views, if we cannot respect each other, it would be meaningless to discuss secularism. I would like to know from Shri Advani whether this

* Participating in the Motion of Confidence in the Council of Ministers; Lok Sabha Debate, 7 November, 1990, *cc.* 29-39.

is the way to carry out the discussions? I wanted to ask this question eleven months back when this discussion took place between the Prime Minister and Shri Advani, when I was not there. A Committee was constituted to suggest solutions on the Babri Masjid issue. The hon'ble Home Minister and the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh were also there in that Committee who were later removed from the Committee only because some of the leaders of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad did not want that they should be there. Is this the way to govern the country? Are we going to govern like this only? Why Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav and Shri Mufti Mohammad Sayeed were removed from the Committee, who had compromised then? Whether a compromise was made with the Vishwa Hindu Parishad or with any Imam over the issue of Babri Masjid. Such compromises only are responsible for worsening the situation in the country to such an extent. An Ordinance was issued at the instance of the hon'ble Prime Minister. We thought that some way might be found out through this. We can fail and your party may go out of power, but hon'ble Prime Minister has no right to insult these institutions. Involving the office of the President also can not be called to be a right tradition. Such a thing, has never happened in the history of the world. I am closely observing this Parliament for the last 23 years, such thing has never happened that an ordinance is promulgated and then withdrawn within 24 hours…*(Interruptions)*…I would like to submit that this Tuglak like behaviour is responsible for taking the country to such a situation. I am against such type of behaviour and consider it my national duty to oppose such behaviour to save the country. The Members are being asked to discuss about the principles. We also know that Rama does not belong to one place only. Here I would like Shri Advani to refer to the poem read by Shri Maithilisharan Gupta once in the other House which means as follows...

"Mana Ram tum manav ho, ishwar nahin ho kya,
vishwa me rame hue sabhi kahin nan-iniho kya,
tab mai nirishwar hun, ishwar kshama kare,
tum na ramo to, man tum me rama kare,"

This is the definition of Rama, which was given by our Rashtrakavi. Some solution can be found, if we discuss the issue keeping in view the above definition. We should opt for negotiations. I have no hesitation in saying that Shri Advani and Shrimati Scindia also love the country as much as I do. Even if our views are different can't we find a solution through mutual discussions. I have as much respect for Shri Somnath Chatterjee and Shri Indrajit Gupta as I have for others. But I would like to tell those who talk of the principles that principles are not something which can be discussed in the corridors of powers. It is strange that a person who entered politics through government posts should discuss principles…*(Interruptions)*…

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The hon'ble Prime Minister who is responsible for taking away smile from the faces of crores of people of this country, would have saved the dignity of this country, this House and his own, if he had resigned, from his post rather than discussing the principles in the House today, but he has no respect for dignity, principles or rules. I also know all those talks of bravery. I didn't mention it before, because it is known to everyone that in Parliamentary democracy the cabinet has collective responsibility. This is for the first time that it has been said in our country that the Prime Minister is corrupt while the Finance Minister who has signed on the file, is honest. If this had happened in any other country of the world, such person would never have been allowed to rise in politics.

Mr. Prime Minister, I know that it is difficult for a splinter group to run a Government but Prof. Dandavate, Mr. Ajit Singh, Mr. Sharad Yadav, Mr. Devi Lal and Mr. George Fernandes, you are entrusting the reins of power to a despondent and frustrated individual and the results thereof are before you. Where were your principles, when you were elected as the leader of the Janata Dal Parliamentary Party? Was that election based on principles? Then, on what basis are you challenging us today? On what basis are you giving us lessons on principles? The question of secularism is a perpetual one. People should not kill or harm each other in the name of religion, we should not create fear in the minds of the minorities. If attempts are made to terrorize them, we will stand and fight against those forces indulging in such activities. If Mr. Advani's 'Rath' was to be stopped, why did you wait till the day a threat to the Mulayam Singh Yadav Government became imminent? Why was the Rath not stopped at Delhi or before that? Mr. Advani has said that nobody talked to him on this issue even once, during those four months.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, a committee of the National Integration Council of which I am also a member held its meeting to find out ways and means to solve this vexed issue through negotiations. Many people present in the House may be surprised to hear that Shri L.K. Advani and Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee extended their whole—hearted co-operation in this regard and I have no hesitation in admitting this fact, but, the Prime Minister's office sabotaged the whole process, the very next day. Is this the way to run the country? Is this the way to solve its manifold problems. We are ashamed of it. I have never been a Minister, but Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am aware of the limits, of the propriety of conduct within which one has to function in politics, in a Parliamentary democracy. Here, we hold talks with political stalwarts like Shri Advani and Shri Vajpayee and assure them that the contents of the talk won't be disclosed to the press, but the very next day we find all those things splashed in the front pages of newspapers. Talks are held with religious leaders like the Shankarcharya and Ali Mian, but

after four days, you back out. No one has been spared, whether it be Mr. Advani, who takes dinner with you every night or people like Ali Mian, who sing songs in your praise or even revered people like the Shankaracharya. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the gravest problem that the country is facing today is that the people are losing faith, they are losing confidence in the leadership in this Government. They are not losing faith in the system and we shall leave no stone unturned to regain that confidence, and we will seek the co-operation of one and all in this regard.

I know today the country is passing through a critical phase and is moving in the wrong direction. I am aware of the ground realities and I will not claim that we are capable of bringing the country back on the right track, but certainly, we will try to save it and serve it to the best of our abilities. We are not a demoralised lot. We shall endeavour to bring the country out of the critical phase it is passing through, the crisis it is facing today. Crocodile tears are being shed, for the poor, for the downtrodden.

The Prime Minister has reminded the House, of his tenure as the Chief Minister, I don't want to discuss it, or do I want to remind him of the responsibilities of a Chief Minister, but Mr. Speaker, Sir, if one goes through the proceedings of the State Legislative Assembly, during the tenure of his Chief Ministership, one will find that his hands were soaked in the blood of thousands of innocent people. Please don't remind us of those things, we don't want this debate to stoop to that level but it hurts us when you people give us lessons on principles, when you talk about people gaining power through the backdoor. Throughout your political career, you have held ministerial positions, but you will learn the intricacies of politics, only if you come out of the cocoon of the administration. The corridors of power are definitely not the classrooms for giving sermons on political principles. Certainly, even a 'Raja' can give sermons but real principle can be taught only by persons like Gautama Buddha and Mahavir Jain, who have done years of penance, have made sacrifices and suffered the pangs of poverty and hunger, but a power hungry Raja, who is ready to stick to his chair, by hook or by crook is certainly not the person to teach lessons of political principles and morality.

I would like to say that, it is our responsibility to work for the upliftment of the poor and downtrodden. Unfortunately, in our country, we have distorted caste system, due to which the poor and downtrodden among our backward classes.....

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However, friends, I would like to submit before you that the major problems being faced by the country today, are that of poverty, of hunger of thirst. There is reservation for the backward classes, but where are the jobs? What resources are there at your disposal to provide them with means

of livelihood? Have you ever thought about it? Have you ever shown any concern for those affected by the price-rise? Did you ever think of the need to provide the basic necessities of life to the poor, innocent and helpless masses of this country? The party manifesto did not mention only about bringing about reservation for the backward classes, it focussed on many other equally important issues. I would like to say that by bringing reservations, we can keep the poor and downtrodden in a fool's paradise for a few months, but unless we have resources at our disposal, or we are prepared to bring about major changes in our economy, how will it be possible to provide them with jobs? What resources do we have? Our greatest assests are our manpower but Mr. Speaker, Sir, the ruling elite doesn't have faith in them. It has faith in the multinational corporations and it wants to build this country with their assistance. Friends, I would like to remind you that when the country's industrial policy was formulated, I expressed my reservations about it. At that time, it was stated that they would make the necessary changes. Eight months have passed since then, the Government has collapsed, yet the people of the country are not aware of the Industrial policy. No one is aware about the country's economic policy. I would like to make submission to Shri Somnath Chatterjee. These are fundamental questions, for which we have fought and struggled for years. I don't want to respond to the harangues of political novices, but I know that I too have been in the political area for a long time now and I won't lose my nerve.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we must have wideranging discussions on these fundamental questions, but I would like to say that in this Parliament itself, about a month back, with the support of the Congress Party, we had unanimously or with majority votes passed a Constitution Amendment Bill to postpone elections in Punjab. Similarly, today, people like me believe that if general elections are held now, it would lead to bloodshed and disintegration of the country. Therefore, if we want to postpone the elections till peace and normalcy is restored, if we want Government to function for some time more.....

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Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to say that if this country is to be saved and built in a new way, if it is to be rescued from its affliction, its pain, its distress and helplessness then, we will have to get rid of our Prime Minister. I would like him to quit gracefully or else in order to perform its patriotic duties, in order to protect the nation and its age old civilization, this House will have no other option, but to remove him.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to say one thing more especially to my friends in the Bharatiya Janata Party. We know that we all should join hands to create an atmosphere of goodwill. We want your Co-operation, yet we would say that in order to run the country and to establish the rule of the law, sometimes the Government is forced to take some unpleasant and stern steps, although they are taken with hesitation and distress.

I would like all the parties to sit together and find out ways and means to solve this vexed issue..... Similarly, the hon. Prime Minister should not take my words to heart. My opinion about him is the same as the one I had about him earlier and I don't want to express it here. We would not have wanted it even today, had the Prime Minister not started considering so high of himself that he started giving us lessons about principles.

VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS 1990*

I beg to move:

"That this House expresses its confidence in the Council of Ministers."

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I regret that the non-formation of the council of Ministers has shocked many of my friends and they are very keen to see as early as possible the new faces of the members of the Council of Ministers. They have become so habitual of seeing the faces of Ministers that Parliament is meaningless to them without Ministers. They want to know the reasons. There are many reasons for not forming the Council of Ministers.

Sir, very humbly we have undertaken this responsibility and many of our friends have raised their voice that we do not enjoy majority support in the House. I never wanted to give them an opportunity to say that I expanded my Council of Ministers in a big way without obtaining their consent or the consent of this August House. The only reason was that the Cabinet was to be expanded after obtaining vote of confidence. I feel that they should have visualised it much earlier but if they failed, it was their fault like a particular bird which cannot see anything in the sun-light. The fault lies with the eyes and not with the sun. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, Sir, through you, I would like to submit that today we are passing through a crucial phase and the condition of the country in every respect is bad. I do not want to level allegation against anybody here....

Neither I intend to level charges against anybody nor I am interested in delivering a long speech. I would like to reply to only a few questions which are raised repeatedly. The question which is often asked is whether we have got the mandate of the people or not, whether people have supported us or not, and this is a genuine question. Last time when we won elections and people elected us to form the Government, Shri Advani, Shri Somnath Chatterjee and Shri Indrajit Gupta supported us and our strategy was to form a Government which could prove a viable alternative to the Congress. Advaniji had clearly mentioned in the election manifesto that no compromise will be made in regard to Article 370. Similar other issues were also raised by Shri Advani but I would not like to go into them. We along with our parties had also made it clear that no compromise will be made

* Moving the Motion of Confidence in Council of Ministers and reply to the same Lok Sabha Debate, 16 November 1990, *cc*. 22-26, 140-151

on certain specific issues. At that time, we had also given an assurance to run the Government for five years. It was also a basis to seek public support. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to know from my friends whether I was involved in toppling the previous Government?....

Mr. Speaker, Sir, just now Shri George Fernandes reminded me that we voted against the Government .....which had become lifeless since the day Shri Advani withdrew his support. You may not find even a single example in the history that a Prime Minister ever stuck to the Chair even after losing majority.... Political morality is questioned here and I am being accused that I toppled the Government. I never concealed the fact that I opposed the then Prime Minister but I was not involved in toppling the Government. If the Government was toppled, it was only due to the misconceptions created between those friends who at present, are sitting together. If the previous Government relied only on their support.....

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I did not want to raise these questions here, if my friend sought the reply, he must be prepared to listen because these questions.....because in my opinion, these questions have no significance at all. The basic question is what challenges does the country face, in what condition the country is at present. We also have certain constraints and I would not like to relate how the country was administered for eleven months and in what condition the economy of the country was when the Government changed. However, I would certainly like to relate the prevailing circumstances at that time. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I seek the permission of the House as well as yours to put that situation before the House. The condition of the country during these six days has not deteriorated to the extent to which it was when we took over. I don't want to mention it. The economy of the country is on the verge of collapse today. But Mr. Speaker, Sir, we know that despite all this, the country will not break. Crores of people of this country, where thousands of years old culture persists, are its saviours. What direction was given, what policies were adopted during the last eleven months? These faulty strategies and policies have put a big question mark on the fate of the people, the economy, the stability, unity and integrity of the nation and the only way to remove this question mark is that we should enlist the cooperation of the people. The people are capable and the economy of the country is strong enough to face any challenge. I would like to appeal to all the countrymen that we are passing through a difficult and challenging period and thus we would like to have their cooperation and strength. Mr. Speaker, Sir, through you, I would like to submit to the leaders of all the political parties that I am free to say a few things but I am ready to say only what I can, through you, and if there is any exaggeration in what I say, I will be ready to resign not only from Prime Ministership but also from the membership of this House.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was already aware of it and I would not relate this in the House today. I have been continuously urging Shri Advani, who is present here, that the path on which the country was being taken is that of destruction. I also warned leaders of leftist parties of the same and made utmost efforts to avert it.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is true that we sought the Congress support and there is nothing to be ashamed of it. I want similar support from all other friends, who consider our actions to be shameful. Mr. Speaker, Sir this issue is not related to the prestige or pride of an individual. It is related to the protection of the country and on this issue we want everybody, not only the Members but all the citizens to unite to strengthen the country.

Sir, through you, I would like to submit to them that there was a time when they respected Shri Advani like a saint and now they consider him as "Rakshas". This is a fallout of your political approach. Today the leftists feel that they have full authority to declare anybody progressive or reactionary suiting their whims. I do not need a certificate from them. Mr. Speaker, Sir, my submission is that I have also passed a considerable time in politics and observed these stalwarts quite closely. Before pointing towards me, they, particularly the leftist leaders who participated in the national movement and who have created a history due to which I respect them, should do some retrospection. They seem to be unaware of the prevailing circumstances.

They are not aware of the circumstances through which the country is passing today. I would like them to update themselves and think whether the need of the hour is to extend cooperation and support in the interest of the country or not. It is often asked as to who is the Prime Minister? At present you are ignorant of it, in a few days you will very well come to know about it.

The issue of Prime Ministership is not related to an individual. Prime Minister is the person who enjoys the support of the House, whom the country has approved as such in accordance with the provisions in the Constitution. Therefore, there is no need to be concerned about the Prime Minister. Think about the future of the country and about taking it out of the present miserable condition. I would like to submit that in spite of the fact that the country is in bad shape, it retains its strength. Our farmers and labourers have got the capability to rebuild the country. Crores of citizens of this country even today take pride and love their country. I would like to have their cooperation also. I belong to that category of people who believe that in order to save the country, support of people is a must. That is why we took this initiative. I am confident that we will get the cooperation and support of all. With a view to throw a challenge to

anybody and to make them realise the facts I would like to reiterate that while speaking they should exercise caution and restraint lest I am compelled to reveal certain things which may make it difficult for you to face the people. Therefore, my submission is that you ponder over the matter. I leave everything to your wisdom. If you want to know the facts and hold the responsibility, I being the Prime Minister of the country, would like to put all those facts before you due to which I opposed the previous Government and joined hands with all the forces.

The people who are concerned about the future of the country, who have full faith in the eternity and dignity of the country will certainly support us in order to give new strength and to infuse inspiration, vigour and encouragement in its masses. Instead of discord, goodwill should be generated. Blood should not be shed. Every life is precious, whoever dies is either a son or a daughter of the country. I would like all of us to make efforts to unite on the issue of communalism and poverty and find out a way to soothe the hurt feelings of people and to boost a new strength in the country. With these words, I would like this House to support my motion.

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Mr. Speaker, Sir, I feel sad after hearing the whole debate. I shall not say a word about the speech of my friend, Mr. Sathe, because he has been kind enough to extend his support. I am glad that in spite of all anguish and anger, my friend from the CPM and CPI friends have raised the level of the debate. I shall not go into the acrimonious accusations; nor shall I like to answer them. But, definitely they have raised a very valid question. What is the programme before this Government? Or what are the issues on which we are going to run the nation in the coming days? In the very beginning of my speech this morning, I said that we should not indulge in personal accusations. I really feel that times are grave, we have reached a perilous point in our history. I do not want to be prophet of doom because I know that because of cultural heritage, civilization and vitality of our people, we can overcome all the difficulties with cohesion and hard working. But, Mr. Speaker, we have to find the areas of agreement, not areas of confrontation and conflict. This is true for all the countries which are fighting against poverty, squalor, misery and disease. This is true for the whole world and more true for this subcontinent. This is why I say that at this moment we should try to agree to work together on specific issues.

My friend, Shri Somnath Chatterjee, asked me what will be the manifesto. I shall like to keep aside the manifestos of all the political parties. Today, can't we agree on three, four, five points where we can say

* Later on the same day replying to the debate.

that we shall work together in order to retrieve the situation? For that a new political climate has to be created in this country and that political climate can be initiated by understanding each other's problems, each other's aspirations. No use trying to call names. I know, sometimes, that in the heat of the moment all of us lose our temper, try to call others names and I am sorry that in the course of this debate I also once or twice lost my temper. But, when I see the problem as it comes, unfolds before me every day, I think that we just cannot afford and I cannot afford to lose temper while sitting in this chair, because, I want everybody's cooperation, everybody's support. If you want me to express my political philosophy, Mr. Somnath Chatterjee, I am not a progressive man, I am a conservative person and as a conservative, I do not change every day. My philosophy is the same, what my friend Shri Chitta Basu says, when I was being called a Young Turk. And there is no alternative before this country, because we are a scarce resource society. If the resources are limited, we have to decide how to use our resources. We have to decide what is our asset and what is our strength. Nature has given us a fertile land, a good climate, all the types of fruits and crops can be produced in this country, almost all the minerals are found in this land, and above all there are more than 85 crore people in this country, who have got the strength to bring prosperity and progress to this nation. What has been our fault in the past? We have not been able to provide opportunity for these people, unfortunate people, who are ready to work hard, to utilise their strength for producing more. How can we do it? In a democratic society, Mr. Speaker, we cannot force them to work. We have to create their will power and how can you create that will power? That will power can be created, can be inspired, only by assuring them that what they produce will not go for the ostentatious living of the chosen few but for meeting the basic needs of our people. So, our investment has to be made in the areas which are essential for meeting the basic needs of our people and we will have to invest in man. When I talk of investment in man, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I shall like to emphasise that the child is the strength of today and the hope of tomorrow. Every child who is born has the right to get from the society clean drinking water, necessary calories to develop as a healthy citizen, elementary education, primary health services and when he grows into a citizen, 18 years of age, he should not be discriminated against on the basis of caste, creed and religion. If you take these five points as our manifesto, as our destination, as our goal, is there any difference in this House? There cannot be any difference. Why can't you work on this? But if you work on these principles, we will have to make many changes in our approach towards the economic problem, towards the social problem and Mr. Speaker, Sir, I shall like to emphasise if the resources are scarce and if the country is poor, every section of the society will have to share this poverty.

It cannot be that those who are the toiling masses, our peasantry, our workers in the field and factories, they will be asked, they will be called upon, to go on making sacrifices. In the first four decades, since our independence we have been asking them to make sacrifices. How long more? They will have to be assured that this poverty will have to be shared by those who are the privileged in the society. So, I shall like to make this appeal to those who are elite, who are privileged. My friend Mr. A.K. Roy told me that they are very cooperative with me. I am very happy. If they want to cooperate with me, they should learn to make sacrifice in order to make the people, our poorer sections—happier and richer. That is a must that we should do. In this context, we shall have to revise our approach. Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee asked me, "are you going to revise the Industrial Policy"? Was there any Industrial Policy adopted by the previous Government? Certain broad lines were given. I had some objections to that. And I think, Somnathji you had also those objections. Those objections are not based on personal prejudice. I have no preferences. I have no prejudice. But I think that in this country, we cannot hope to be bailed out by forces outside. I do not say that we should not take help from outside. In today's world, we will have to depend on outside help and support. In critical areas, we will have to invite new technology, modern technology and we shall have to open up those areas for those who can do better. But are you going to open up our whole area for producing more cosmetics, more ice-creams? Please see the collaboration arrangements that had been made during the last many years and even during these few months when we were ruling this country. My objection is not against liberalisation. This question is being raised everywhere. If liberalisation means less of red-tapism, if liberalisation means no hurdle, no corruption, bureaucracy should not interfere, then liberalisation is a must. If liberalisation means to squander away the scarce resources for ostentatious living, I shall only plead with all humility, we are not in a position to afford it. I hope that we shall realise these limitations.

On the economic front, I think that those who are poor and especially those sections who had been neglected, remain oppressed and exploited, they should have our special preference. I know there are many doubts, there are many apprehensions. But, Mr. Speaker, through you I want to assure this nation. I may make any compromise but no compromise on the question of dignity of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. There will be no question of any compromise on the feeling of the backward and oppressed sections about their urge to get a life of dignity in this society.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, about minorities, minorities all over the world feel apprehensive. I shall beg of those who say that there should be no discrimination between the minority and majority. Why the founders of our Constitution inserted a minority clause in our Constitution? Minorities all over the world, whether they are religious minorities or ethnic minorities

or linguistic minorities, react in a sharp way because they have apprehension, and fear in their minds. If we go by the dictionary meaning of what they say, we shall always reach a wrong political decision. We should try to understand their aspirations, we should try to understand their apprehensions, we should try to understand that they have a psychology, a psyche where they feel that they are not assured about their security, about their prosperity and about their future. It is the responsibility of the nation, it is the responsibility of the State and more so the responsibility of the majority community to see that this fear is eliminated from their minds. This we will have to do.

I say that in the matter of religion, everybody is free. Secularism does not mean that we should discard religion. Religion is an instrument of communion between man and God. As long as religion is used for communion between man and God, for religious pursuits, we should not quarrel.

We should be proud of our religious heritage in this country. I am a Hindu. I am proud of Rama; I am proud of Krishna; I am proud of the Vedas and our Aryan civilisation. But equally, I am proud of the contribution made by other religions which came to this country. And this is the superiority of the Hindu religion over others because we have got the compassion and we have got the tolerance. If this tolerance and compassion go, the Hindu religion will lose its power, its superiority over all other religions.

I am not against building the temple. I shall not go into any controversy. But it is an emotive issue. The building should be constructed. In the birth place of Rama there should be a temple, magnificent, glorious and as big as we can make. But, I shall appeal to my friends that in their enthusiasm to build the temple, do not try to demolish the mosque, because I tell you, no other matter can come in the way. Build the temple as you like and all of us will contribute. And if I remain Prime Minister, Mr. Advani, after a few minutes, I assure you that I shall cooperate in every way to build the temple. But the only thing is, assure the Muslim community that their pride, their self-respect will not be hurt.

*Even if they do not talk with me, I shall go on trying to talk with them because I want to make it very clear that I shall talk with every citizen of India howsoever on a wrong path he will be, but only on one condition that there will be no compromise with the sovereignty, unity and integrity of the country. This is the only one condition. If a son or a relative of my family goes wrong, do I say that I shall discard him all of a sudden?

* Replying to comments, "The Vishwa Hindu Parishad have decided in their meeting that unless you condemn the massacre in Ayodhya and unless you show your regret for the praising you did of Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav, Vishwa Hindu Parishad people will not talk to you on this Ayodhya issue." made by Kumari Uma Bharati, Member of Parliament (Lok Sabha).

I know, in this House and in the other House many a time I have seen people taking an extreme view. But parliamentary democracy means dialogue, discussion, persuation of each other to come to some understanding. This is the essence of parliamentary democracy.

My friend, Somnathji asked me what is my understanding with Advaniji or the BJP. The only understanding is—I again repeat in spite of all protestation by the lady Member sitting on the front bench—that I consider Advaniji to be a patriot, I do not agree with his thinking about the social and political life of this country. And I shall go on appealing to Mr. Advani and his colleagues—I have gone to their houses and tell them that the country cannot afford to have confrontation, the country cannot indulge in fighting with each other. I am sorry for what happened in Ayodhya. Nobody wants that even a single men should die. I assure you that even if a single man or woman dies in this country, I feel that a son or daughter of Mother India has died. Death is death whether it comes by the knife of a rioter or by the bullets of the police. There is no difference in death. So, I cannot say that death by rioting is wrong and death by police bullets is good. But, sometimes the State has to perform unpleasant duties. I never said that Mr. Mulayam Singh should have done it in a more vigorous way. I ask you Mr. Speaker, Sir, if sometimes decision has to be made in order to protect the lives of thousands, in order to protect millions from going in the street and killing each other, if some action has to be taken it is with regret and if the lady Member thinks that my regret makes any difference, I express regret that what has happened should have been avoided. But the responsibility is not that of the State, this responsibility should be shared by all those who are concerned. I tell you that on this question I do not want to stand on false prestige. I do not want to stand on prestige whether I should meet X, Y, Z or not. Whoever can contribute to peace, whoever can contribute to understanding, I shall go and knock at his door. If the Muslim community agrees to build the temple on the very spot where the mosque is, I shall be very glad. But this should be with common consent. It should be by their mutual understanding. It should not be coerced on them. I shall appeal again to the religious leaders of the Muslim Community and also of the Hindu Community that they should sit together, try to find a solution. Let us not politicise this issue. This is not a political issue. This is a human issue. This is an issue which is going to have its bearing on the history for a long time to come.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, on this question I am very clear. In the name of religion please do not kill each other, that is an antithesis of religion, that is against religion, whether it is Islam, whether it is Hinduism, whether it is Christianity or any other religion. This way I say that traditions should be respected unless and until they come in the way of progress. My friend Prof. Madhu

Dandavate was kind enough to refer to my stand taken at the time of operation Blue Star. I was one of the saddest persons at that time. I did not make any big statement. When some press men asked me, I just said, I still remember that sentence—it is unfortunate that we had to send the army to the Golden Temple and better withdraw it soon. This is what I said. There were comments all over the country. Editorials were written against me. Political leaders came down on me heavily and not only Rajivji who subsequently became Prime Minister but even the leaders of my own party condemned me. Mr. Dandavate, in all humility, I shall say Shri Rajiv might have asked that action be taken against me. The former Prime Minister whom I supported for eleven months went to Ballia in the 1984 elections and said, "why is this gentleman contesting election from here? He is a Bhindranwale of Ballia. He should go and contest election in Punjab". I did not take it as something personal when I supported him at the time when we chose him to be the Prime Minister of this country because I thought that personal matters should not prejudice our political judgements. I might have criticised Rajivji and the Congress. He might have criticised me. But does it mean that when the country is in peril and in my assessment I may be totally wrong that elections at this moment—as many friends have said—will bring disaster to this country, I am not going to finish the work which has been started by the previous Prime Minister. I am not going to be a disaster to this country. I refuse to be so. And if it is a crime, I am ready to commit this crime. But, in all humility, I should like to say that I do not want cooperation from one section or one person or one party, I want cooperation from everybody. About other issues I am not finding myself to be free. But, I ask Mr. Somnath Chatterjee, through you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, eleven months back when we formed the Government, he was quoting our manifesto. Has he gone through that manifesto? What happened in Punjab? Has the situation brightened up there? What has happened in Kashmir? When Rajiv Gandhi left Kashmir.....

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Please hear me. If you want I can say.... I shall tell you. When Rajiv Gandhi left the Government at least 25-30 per cent people were openly associating themselves with India. When our Government came, the first thing I got from the newspapers was that Mr. Jagmohan was going to be appointed as Governor. I wrote a slip to my Home Minister saying: "It will be a disaster, don't do it". Comrade Surjeet and Farooqi, and I pleaded with him saying don't do it. I said it not for personal reasons. I had no friendly relations with Shri Farooqi. I tried to persuade the Home Minister that we have gone all over the world telling that there is an autocratic regime in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, while we have got an elected Government. I had strong views about the Rajiv Gandhi Government. I never met Shri Rajiv Gandhi for five years when he was the Prime Minister. But Shri Rajiv Gandhi left the Government with all his virtues and vices.

We could not afford to make the same speeches which we were making during the elections. This is not the way to run a nation—condemning Shri Rajiv Gandhi that there was rigging in the elections. And, rigging in the elections was known by Mr. Mufti when he became the Home Minister. When he was in the Congress, he never remembered about the rigging. Is it the way to run a nation?

When I talk about Bofors, Mr. Somnath Chatterjee, I want to tell you—this is not what I am saying today—that this is a peculiar country where you say that the Prime Minister was dishonest, the Finance Minister who framed the deal was the symbol of honesty.....

*I agree with him and I accept what he says. Should I take it that after having the contract approved, the Finance Minister never had a look at the file or he was denied to have a look into the file? Either the Prime Minister was so innocent that he did not know the implication or he was a collaborator in the whole deal. If he was innocent, the country was not safe in his hands as the Finance Minister. And this was proved subsequently that the country was not safe in his hands as the Prime Minister. It is nothing personal and I am saying this just because at that time I was not in the Government. I was not under the path of secrecy. Don't ask about the files. I shall never mention about files in this House. Unless and until, Mr. Speaker, you direct and this House wants the files, on my own I am not going to divulge the secrecy of this Government. But I want to tell you and assure you, Advaniji, that on Bofors or on any case of corruption, there will be no compromise. But I also want to tell very frankly that State power is not for personal vendetta. Nothing will be done against anybody because of personal prejudice. Nothing will be done in order to protect anybody for personal friendship. This is what I feel should be the right course for a Government to adopt.

About Bofors I have said enough. What is the situation in Kashmir? What is the situation in Assam? What is the situation in Tamil Nadu? Assam, Kashmir and Punjab we inherited from Shri Rajiv Gandhi but who brought about the situation to the brink in Assam and Tamil Nadu? A friend from that side asked me to do something. I assure you, Sir, and to the whole country that no compromise will be made about the integrity and sovereignty of the nation, whatever the consequences. I am already in touch with the Chief Minister of Assam and Tamil Nadu. I am going to discuss with them. I want that there should be proper action taken by them in order to restore peace and law and order in that part. Otherwise things will take their own

* Replying to the Comments, "For the Prime Minister's information, if he looks at the file, the clearance was subject to commercial, technical and other clearances. After that, the file never returned to me". Made by Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh, Former Prime Minister.

course. I do not want to conceal anything because the Government of India is not so helpless. And if the Government of India here in Delhi is sitting helpless, there is no right for any of us to remain here, even for a minute. It is not the question of prejudice. It is not the question of challenging anybody. It is the question of discharging our duty. I would not like to say anything more about that. All these questions I have tried to cover. About the economic position, gross mismanagement of the economy—I cannot say anything more and I can say. Mr. Speaker, that we have given wrong signals to our people, to our industrialists, to our workers. People feel frustrated and desperate. The international community feels that India is on the verge of collapse. Our citizens who are outside Indian shores think that there is no hope for India. But I assure you, Mr. Speaker, that with your cooperation and the cooperation of these people, we shall lift this country from the muddy mire of misery, and we shall restore it to the glory that this nation deserves. We only require the open support from our toiling masses, from our peasantry, from our workers. We want the cooperation of all Indians who are outside India because they are as patriotic as we are. We want cooperation with all friendly nations, but I tell you, Mr. Speaker, we can steer through this crisis only by tightening our belts. Austerity is a must. The slogan of austerity given by Mahatma Gandhi was not a slogan, it was a part of our economic strategy. Swadeshi and *swavalamban*—self-reliance and Swadeshi. By Geeta Mukherjee, I was asked this question. We had no other option but to resort to Swadeshi and *swavalamban* as much as is possible. But in critical areas we will have to get the cooperation from other nations.

This is in a broad way what we want to achieve. Whether we shall be able to achieve or not, only the future will tell. I do not want to make any tall claim. I know the limitations of this Government, but I tell you, my friend—Advaniji, you know me for quite some time. I can be anything, but I cannot be a puppet. I have not seen a person who can use me as a puppet. I have dealt with much bigger people in this country. So far if I was not reduced to a puppet, with your blessings and support, rest assured that even in future, nobody is going to use me as a puppet. But because some people are crying hoarse, I am not going to condemn those people who have come to support me, to help me in an hour of crisis, not my crisis, but the crisis of the nation and those who stand up to support me, I am grateful to them and I acknowledge that support. I do not want to do things in a clandestine manner. If I meet people, I meet them openly. Somebody said that I was meeting secretly. Why should I meet anybody secretly? Shri Rajiv Gandhi might have some hesitation in meeting me. But I had never any hesitation in meeting Shri Rajiv Gandhi. If I can go to anybody and everybody after becoming the Prime Minister, before becoming the Prime Minister, what was the hesitation before me to go to anybody's place.

If occasion comes, I shall go to the doors of my worst critics. But I assure you, whether you are a critic or a supporter, don't try to remove me from the path which I have charted for myself. I shall like to use an Urdu couplet here:

"Mere Kadam Ke Saath Hai Manzil Lagi Hui,
Manzil Jahan Nahi Wahan Mere Kadam Nahin."

You must start, I know my destination, I know my goal. If I cannot go to the goal, I am not going on any path just for the courtesy of a walker walking all alone.

Mr. Speaker, the last point that I should like to touch upon is defection. Morals have been given about defection. So many things have been mentioned, I don't want to go into them. But, Mr. Speaker, when the Anti-Defection law was passed, there was a moral in it that if one-third people go out of a party, it will not be treated as defection. It was not a concession to those who want to leave the party because it is not the defection. People should understand that there is another word which is called, 'dissent and protest'. Societies move forward only because of dissent and protest. If dissent and protest are not allowed, then society will stagnate and stagnation means sure death. When we see that something is going basically wrong and the whole country is being taken towards disaster, it is our national duty that we should dissent, that we should protest, and I am that my colleagues on this side protested against the things that were happening. I shall not go into greater detail. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I crave the indulgence of all our Members. I ask for your support in this great endeavour, in this great task which is ahead of us in order to give this country the glory and prestige that it deserves. Thank you all.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AND RESIGNATION AS PRIME MINISTER*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, for the last few days, a discussion was going on in the House on the President's Address. Firstly, I beg your pardon for not listening to some of the Members. Several Members took part in this discussion and mentioned the problems being faced by the country, I don't find it necessary to discuss all those problems, because these have been already discussed in the House many a times. But I would like to say a few words about the basic problems which have been raised here.

First of all, I would like to take up the questions raised by Shri Ram Krishan Yadav. Although, he was the last speaker, yet he has raised the basic questions regarding human dignity, poverty, distress and hunger, which are related to our country.

In the Constitution, framed after the freedom struggle, we promised to protect human dignity. We also said that our biggest wealth is our manpower and development of our country depends on this manpower. Mahatma Gandhi told us that we would be unable to build up a new India, unless we realise the dignity of labour. We have to pay attention to these issues and we should have done it earlier, but it is regretable that we did not do so. But it is not proper to say that these issues have not been mentioned in the President's Address. When the President has proposed to set up a National Reconstruction Fund, the intention behind it was to utilise the manpower of crores of people properly. We also said that this manpower of crores of youths should be utilised to remove poverty, hunger, illiteracy, inequality existing in our country because this is the wealth which can give us biggest power.

Shri Ram Krishan Yadav has said that it is ironical that our thousands of years old culture is full of liberal ideals, even then the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backwards are not treated at par with others in our country. They are pained about this. To remove this inequality we will have to bring them at par with others by giving them special opportunities in the society.

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* Replying to the Motion of Thanks on President's Address before resigning as Prime Minister, Lok Sabha Debate, 6 March 1991, *cc*. 804-814.

He has also said that special attention need to be paid to the backward classes and the poor. Some other Members also said that we have always respected all the religions in our country. Unfortunately communalism has been raising its head for the last few years in our country and people have become thirsty of blood of each other in the name of religion. No religion teaches to fight each other. Time and again, we have repeated our resolution in the Parliament that we believe in religious tolerance. It is necessary to take steps in this regard.

Our country has been facing the problem of unemployment. The manpower is our wealth, but it is not being utilised properly. That is why, it was earlier said that the right to work will be made a fundamental right. But simultaneously, we will have to create new employment opportunities also and for that we have to properly utilise the limited resources of our country. We have to decide whether our limited resources are to be used for providing luxuries of life or to remove poverty.

We had said this and the President too had stressed in his address that we would have to take innovative steps to fill the over-widening gap between the prosperous and poorer sections of our society. We don't have any animosity towards anyone's prosperity, we don't have any clash or enimity with the prosperous, but if we want to light a candle of hope in the dark world of the poor and the helpless, then certainly, the affluent will have to make some sacrifices. Such policies will have to be formulated in our country, that is why we opted for a planned economy for our country. The Planning Commission was established in 1950. My good old friend veteran leader, Shri Yamuna Prasad Shastri said that in reference to the Planning Commission. If he goes through the contents of the speech thoroughly, he will find that I had said that the draft of the Eighth Five Year Plan would be prepared by 31st March. We cannot brush aside or disregard the concept of a planned economy. If the aspirations and necessities of a large country is to be fulfilled with limited resources, then it is very essential to give priority to the idea of planning and the Planning Commission has been endeavouring to fulfil that and even today, it is working in that direction.

My hon. friend, Shri Somnath Chatterjee has repeatedly raised burning problems like unemployment, poverty and the problems being faced by the working class. We feel that if the problem of unemployment is not checked, it will give rise to distress and sorrow in the minds of the unemployed. Poverty in itself is a curse, but the pain and distress in the minds of the unemployed will not only create disorder within the society, but will also tear the very fabric of our society. Some of my friends here raised questions regarding Assam, Punjab and Kashmir, I am grateful to the Leader of Opposition, Shri L.K. Advani for he had rightly understood the importance

of these burning questions. Despite our all out efforts, even today the situation in Punjab is not normal. Even today, killings are taking place, but we have shared no effort to change this atmosphere of bloodshed. We have always stressed upon the need to solve this issue through negotiations, but I would certainly like to add here that tension has lessened, even if there hasn't been a perceptible change. We did make efforts in that direction and we shall continue to do so in the coming days too. We don't claim that we have created a paradise on earth. I had never promised a paradise, nor do I promise it today also. However, I do believe that-

"Maana ki hum chaman ko Gulzar na kar sake,
kuchch khaar tho hum kam kar sake Gujre jidhar se hum."

Although we were not able to establish a garden of Eden, we certainly did remove some thorns from the path, unmindful of the fact that some of them did pierce our feet. My brother, Shri Indrajit Gupta has given a very wise counsel that Chandra Shekhar should think before he acts. I would like to say that I do think and I know very those whom I can trust and those whom I can't. My experience has been similar, with those sitting here and those seated there. I won't discuss it here. Each and every Member referred to the crisis being faced by the nation. I would like to ask whether under the circumstances and in order to face these problems boldly, is it not necessary that we should instill a sense of confidence and mutual trust within us, is it not essential that we would have faith in each other? We don't say that any single person is fully competent and omnipotent. I have learned lessons of sacrifice from many people. Many of our friends said here that we should restrain our aspiration and that our personal ambitions should not blind us. I feel distressed when I hear these things from the mouths of those who have knocked my doors many a time to achieve their long-cherished ambitions. I don't have anything else to say in this regard. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to tell you…*(Interruptions)*…because through this House, I would like to tell my countrymen that mine is not a personal ambition. We wanted to create an atmosphere of confidence at a time when the country was passing through a crisis and if our detractors feel that we are in the wrong, then let them be happy about it. I have never cheated anyone. There is not a single great person in the world history, who has not been deceived at one time or the other. It is very wrong to deceive someone, but it is not a crime to be deceived. We have never deceived anyone, neither the people sitting here, nor the people sitting out there. If these deceivers try again and again and succeed in their mission, I consider it an achievement in their life. One thing that Shri Advani or Shri Indrajit Gupta had said or perhaps both of them had said was that the opposition parties were responsible for the fall of the Government. I would like to clarify here that Governments do not fall due to opposition parties,

rather it is the supporting party which is responsible for the fall of a Government. There should not be any misunderstanding about this issue and I do not know why they are doing so, how they are doing and what do they intend to do. But I would certainly like to add here that criticism or verbal attacks from the opposition side is understandable but inactivity, inaction and absence from the House on the part of the supporting party is perhaps unprecedented and unique in the annals of the history…*(Interruptions)*…

I understand it very well, but now standards are emerging. Please don't think that I am furious, many of our friends were heard saying that I am distressed and that I am furious. I am neither angry nor distressed. According to these well-wishers, I am incompetent to hold any responsible position and that the sacrifice, capability, competence and eligibility of some of those holding high position in the Government were such that they were competent enough to occupy this high office. But, according to these friends, I, who was ignored and isolated by one and all, thwarted these attempts and jumped into the fray at the first opportune moment. If you feel satisfied by saying such things, I would say that through your absurd thinking, you can expose your manners, but you cannot belittle my personality.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would certainly like to say here that if I could exercise control over my ambitions and feelings from 1962, when I was elected to Parliament for the first time, then I could have done the same in 1990 too, but I couldn't do so for reasons, to which Shri Advani has already referred. I feel that the country is passing through crisis and it is moving towards a dangerous situation towards a constitutional crisis to which Shri Advani was referring. Perhaps, I may be in the wrong, my decisions may be wrong, but i have always wanted to foil the conspiracies intended towards taking the country towards destruction, with all the powers at my disposal. I am not the last person in history. The last persons of history are those with whom politics being an end. I am among those people who believe that if this country could run in the absence of such stalwarts like Gandhiji and Jayaprakash Narayan, then it can be definitely run without Chandra Shekhar too. But there are some 'principled' people without whom this country can't run.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is for the country and the world to judge my efforts and its results and they have judged it. I would like to tell my friends that it has been observed by many people that poverty, hunger, starvation, communal hysteria and a negative feeling in the minds of poor scheduled castes and scheduled tribes is not just a phenomena restricted of our country. Rather, this crisis is there all over the world. Moreover, such forces

are emerging, which are posing a grave threat to world peace, I have already spoken in detail about the issue of Gulf War, which has been raised here many times. I had taken a decision on India's stand after giving a serious thought to the issue and I want to reiterate it here that we are in favour of self-determination to the people of Palestine, but we have never felt that to achieve this goal, it is necessary to conquer Kuwait. If there is any logic in this silly argument, then only they can understand it. Even today, after the war has come to an end, India is the only country in the world which stands steadfastly by the side of Iraq. The restructuring of the Iraqi economy, its reconstruction and its development should be in the larger interests of its people. Today, when assistance was sought from India for the first time, our country took the initiative and we shall provide all possible assistance to both Kuwait and Iraq to rebuild their war-ravaged economies.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I believe that the responsibilities of protecting and defending a territory is the responsibility of the people living there. No third party can don the mantle of a policemen and interfere in the affairs of that country. We have never accepted it and we shall always oppose it tooth and nail, but there are some self-styled champions of world peace, who poke their nose everywhere everytime and claim that it is they who run this world. Here I would like to know from each Member of this House whether foreign policy is hollow in idealistic imagination or flights of fancy. No, in my view it is a weapon to defend and protect the larger interests of the country. I had said earlier also that for us, the protection of national interests is of paramount importance and while doing so, we shall not deviate from our principles. I would like to say only this much.

I would not like to go in that, we have developed a habit of criticising others and we have also developed a feeling of demoralisation within ourselves. We unnecessarily begin to cry and start feeling that we are ruined, none cares for us now, we lag behind the world etc. But the question is where are we lagging behind? Who will push this country back, which has a manpower of 85 crore of worthy population? We should have self-confidence. The power does not lie in Prime Minister's hands, but in those of the 85 crores of people. Sometimes, we may seek some help from America but at the same time we should not forget that America too needs our help. For a very minor issue some of us dreaded much and they began to cry that we became slave to America. There is no such thing. Actually, a man spells what is in his brain and some of us are possessing slavish mentality in themselves. So, I want to say that our country has great power and we may use it wherever it is necessary, whether it is China, Pakistan or Iran. I have said it earlier also that almost all countries in the world have appreciated the role of India. But there are some self-imposed persons

(Khudai-Khidmatgars) who see darkness everywhere, if in the bright sun-light a bird is not able to see anything, it is not the fault of sun-light but of the bird's eyes. I will not say more than this.

We shall have to choose the path, which India has to adopt. What role must be played by this country? Should it act as a blind follower of these powers? No, it is not a blind follower of anyone. It has an independent foreign policy we rely in the principle of the non-alignment. We want to maintain our relations with the backward and developing countries. Mr. Speaker, Sir, through you, I want to assure my friends that the people of India will always raise their voice with the oppressed against any sort of colonialism or exploitation anywhere in the world. We shall be with them whenever peace is disturbed. This is our policy and principle and we shall maintain it for ever.

Sir, much has been said about the law and order here. It has also been said that my government is a puppet government and it has taken any decisions like that. I do not know much about other decisions but one is about Tamil Nadu, which is being much discussed now-a-days. You may add Pondicherry also to it. You may read the reports of situation in Pondicherry in the Newspapers if you do not rely on my report. But here I would like to talk about Tamil Nadu only. During the present session of this House and during the last session also I had a personal talk with some of my friends, who are the opposition leaders. An assurance of not dismissing the Tamil Nadu Government was sought from me. In response to that I told them that there would not be another option before me than to dismiss the Tamil Nadu Government, it did not change its attitude.

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I did not say that. I told that I would think hundred times before dismissing it. I have got such sense. I dismissed that government because it became unavoidable.

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I do not want to involve myself in such controversial discussion nor do I want to repeat those things which explain the causes of the Tamil Nadu Government's dismissal. In the records of the House there is statement of on opposition leader, Shri Gurupadswamy who belong to the party of hon. Dandavateji. By reading that one may come to know as to what did I tell and what did he say? I do not say one thing at one place and something else at another place. The Congress is simply a political party which did extend its support to me in this House. I do not say that I cannot consider anything of that party.

But everything has a limit and I am not under any obligation to cross those limitations. Though, one may compromise many times for the country's sake. I fully agree with what Shri Advani said about the happenings in this House as well as in another House during the last two-three days. This is certainly highly deplorable and immodest situation. I was tolerating it because the discussion was going under your chairmanship. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I did not think it proper to interrupt and say anything. Sir, I would like to assure you that I was neither making any adjustment nor making any compromise. I know the extent to which I have to go. I know well what step should be taken at what time. They are welcome if they extend their cooperation; they are welcome otherwise also. They are masters of their will, and we have not any control over them. I don't say that they are bound to support us. But I would certainly like to say one thing to the members of the Congress Party that they should realise that just on the issue of two constables to endanger the Constitution of India and to carry the Parliament into such an odd situation is not justified. Anyway, one does what one's sense allows him to do. I will say no more in this regard. That is why somebody from that side called me puppet. Their sense does not allow them to think more than that. A puppet will see a puppet only. They do not know that sometimes even a small Hanuman burns the whole Lanka. Hanuman, despite being small…*(Interruptions)*…Drive out such misunderstanding from your minds. This is not an issue of an individual. The analysis of the persons is not required here. Rather, the country's circumstances and problems are important. We cannot overlook these problems. Now and then we all shall have to look into these problems unitedly. I owe my thanks to all the opposition leaders who have assured me their co-operation in resolving this constitutional crisis. I hope that some solution will come out with your co-operation. I believe that all of you will co-operate in resolving this crisis. I want to say very politely that in the Parliamentary system of Government political reality depends much on the mathematical numbers. And this arithmetic cannot be avoided. The members of the Congress Party are not present here. I do not know where they are…*(Interruptions)*…I am not even sure about whether I have their support or not. But it is sure that I cannot run my Government any longer with such type of their conduct. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I, with your permission, will call on the President to submit my resignation. And I request you to adjourn the House now. Now everything will depend upon the hon'ble President's decision. I have already taken the advise of my companions about it. We reached this decision yesterday that in such circumstances there is neither validity nor necessity to continue the proceedings of this House. In accordance with my decision this Government is going to resign. According to the conventions of the House its proceedings cannot continue after the declaration of my resignation. Sir, it is my formal request to you

to adjourn the House as its proceedings cannot go on without Government. I am going to the President to tender my resignation. I assure my friends that there would not be any tactical politics from this side. It would be good if persons from that side also do the same. This is my wish that we all may head towards a fair and clean politics....

MOTION OF NO-CONFIDENCE 1993*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is very unfortunate that we are here again to discuss the no-confidence motion. No-Confidence motions had been discussed here several times and if the Government survives even after it, people from the side of the Government consider it a great achievement for themselves. It is natural because in our country the persons who remain in power for a longer period are considered more successful political leaders. They must succeed and for that they may go to any extent.

On the basis of what has happened in the past and what is happening these days during the discussion on this no-confidence motion we can say that the Government might succeed in defeating the motion, but it is certain that they will further contribute to degrade the established traditions of the country. Our Parliamentary traditions, Parliamentary values, political conduct and political morality are all at stake in protecting the one person, who wants to remain in the chair of Prime Minister and for that all the Congress Party members are making united efforts. The day when the discussion on this no-confidence motion was started, Hon. Arjun Singh raised a question that whether this no-confidence motion can be supported with some conditions. But I would like to ask him as to whether he and his friends had made any efforts to know why people from other parties are against them. Why the people of different ideologies are being compelled to make collective efforts to remove this Government. It is not because of personal enimity or because they want to remove this Government to usurp power immediately. It should have been to struggle within the ruling party itself. It should not have been entrusted to the opposition. But there is something very serious because of which people think that if this Government continue, the problems of the country would go more gravely and it will be more disgraceful for the country. It is not an allegation, yesterday, I was listening to Mr. Chidambaram, I do not know whether he is present here today or not. He said that he had a dream and asked Shri Indrajit Gupta and Shri Somnath Chatterjee, that what happened to their ideals, what happened to the ideology of constructing new society with Soviet Union. Where Marxism has gone? Who is going to support your ideology and thoughts in the World?

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* Participating in the Motion of No-Confidence in the Council of Minister, Lok Sabha Debate, 28 July 1993, *cc*. 469-483

Mr. Speaker, Sir, people like Shri Chidambaram perhaps do not remember that Mahatma Gandhi had given some thoughts and ideologies to the country which are being respected throughout the world. Shri Arjun Singh is making fun of that ideology and is making every effort to remain in the Cabinet. Where had been the vision of Gandhi lost, the India of his dreams? You can deliver us speeches in fluent English, you can taunt us in the name of IMF and World Bank and can tell us that Asian Development Bank was your own bank. But when it gives some advice, you do not pay any attention to it. I am sorry to state that Government which passed through a period of great turmoil is not in a position to take Agni Pariksha. Sita passed through 'Agni Pariskha' after living in exile for fourteen years. So this 'Sita' should also go in exile for at least two years before passing through Agni Pariksha. But this Agni Pariksha is different. I do not sympathise with such 'Sitas' nor do I respect them. But I do have sympathy for Sita like Dr. Manmohan Singh who is in search of a golden deer knowing fully well that there did not exist any golden deer yet insisting upon Ram and Lakshman to find one for Sita. I do not know who is their Lakshman. I do not want to mention the name of Shri Montek Singh Ahluwalia, but still I am mentioning, because he is a friend of mine. He hopes that IMF, World Bank, Asian Development Bank and other countries would help us and our country would look like a heaven. What has been our experience in the past? Have other countries not done this? You have quoted the names of certain countries. But I do not have time to go into the details. The World Bank has stated in its report that it is trying to promote the foreign policy of America in the world. It has submitted that it had intervened in the affairs of other countries when the need arised. It also encouraged counter revolutions in other countries. What has happened in Russia is not a secret. We can forget Lenin-Marx, but how can we forget that they had taken step in the right direction for the humanity suffering from pain, hunger and anguish? I would not like to go into the details of how it was successful. But the new economic policy announced by you is not a new phenomenon in the world. Is this economic policy not based on pain and exploitation of human beings? Has this policy not been responsible for World Wars? Is this policy not based on cut-throat competition? Indian civilisation and culture is based on compassion. I would like to tell Atalji and Advaniji that the economic policy being supported by them was not the policy based on compassion. Compassion and cut-throat competition both cannot go hand in hand. To downgrade others is the aim of this policy, so it is not an economic policy in real sense. They will help you in their own interest, to gain something. Who is not aware that countries in the world are engaged in competition to gain control on Indian market. You are becoming a victim to that race. During a period of six months to one year you made many promises. You had submitted in this House and outside that America had become your friend. We have no dispute with

America. It was said that America was going to declare Pakistan a terrorist state. This was given wide publicity. But when they refused to do so, Government said in mild tone that they had shaken our faith. America would not declare that country a terrorist nation till India declares itself a Hindu nation. They would not declare this either on your persuasion or the persuasion of Atalji or Advaniji. The definition of 'Hindu' should be given by some sage or saint who is above politics, then they would require a Hindu fundamentalist state to fight Islamic fundamentalism.

This world politics is not so simple and our Government has become a victim to it. That is why I am against this Government. On the one hand there is corruption and if some body has taken money, it is known to every one. I would like to know whether it is not a fact that a meeting was convened by the State Department of America about 2-3 months back and a representative from India participated in it. I would not like to mention his name. Although it is said that he went to participate in it on his personal level. A proposal was made that a scheme should be formulated to solve Kashmir tangle. Our friend Shri Chidambaram was just now referring to a plan which they had formulated in 1988 for resolving the Punjab problem. He was praising himself for this plan as he claimed that it brought peace in Punjab state. I do not want to submit anything regarding Punjab. Shri Rajesh Pilot had pointed towards a plan to resolve Kashmir tangle, *i.e.* to separate Leh-Laddakh and Jammu. These should be merged into India by providing more facilities to the people in the valley. If freedom and autonomy is granted, peace would come automatically and Kashmir tangle would be resolved. Some of our colleagues think that if the valley is separated, our problem would be resolved. Atalji, I have submitted to you also that this is a very dangerous game. If this plan becomes unsuccessful, our country would not be able to maintain it secular status. A few days back I had submitted that Kashmir is just not a territory for us. It is a principle lifestyle for us. We cannot forget this fact that in 1947 people of Kashmir did not go to Pakistan, they sided with the country of Mahatma Gandhi. This question is before us today and we cannot live by separating this fact from us. I would come to this question later on. What has happened during the last few days? What economic policy is being formulated by you? For the first time I am raising this question. I know Dr. Manmohan Singh for the last twenty five years. He is an intellectually honest person, but he is fascinated by power. I do not know where he would lead the country.

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Mr. Speaker, Sir, as I have pointed out earlier that the policies have been formulated at the behest of World Bank. Shri George Fernandes had also referred to the suggestions given by the Asian Development Bank. Would the Government chalk out the policies on these lines? Not only that

Mr. Speaker, Sir, people from foreign countries would come to this country and dictate us. The Government should not allow such thing to happen, but Government is falling into their trap knowingly. We are time and again, saying in this House that allowing foreign banks in this country is a mere temptation and this will have serious repercussions. These Banks would spread corruption and ruin our economy. Dr. Manmohan Singh has said that these banks did not pose any threat to us. We raised the issue of 'Scam' in this House. Dr. Manmohan Singhji submitted in this House that all the money involved would be realised within seven days. Where did that money go? Was that not a handiwork of four foreign banks? These banks robbed us of a large amount of money. Does Dr. Manmohan Singh have any moral right or will power to take any action against these four banks? Why not Government take any step against these banks? What are you waiting for? Would Government accomplish this job after taking another loan from IMF and World Bank? These banks have robbed us of crores of rupees and our Government is watching silently.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, countries are run with self respect, dignity and self confidence. India is a country with a population of eighty crores. How can any foreign country dictate us? Can other countries dictate policies to us? Anybody can come here from outside and speaks whatever he likes. I admit that Pakistan is interfering into our internal affairs and we should check it. The hon'ble Minister of defence is not present here. I have told him once that Pakistan should be taught a lesson if we are attacked. Why do you go to the Press daily? By going to the Press we provide opportunities to others to interfere in our internal affairs. I had submitted to the Hon'ble Prime Minister to check Pakistani interference in Punjab and Kashmir and do not adopt such policy that invites interference of other countries into the affairs of this sub-continent.

Mr. Speaker. Sir, I am not visualising any gloom situation. What is happening in Pakistan today? Have you ever pondered over the question who is occupying the seat of Prime Minister in Pakistan today? I would not mention his name nor make any allegations. If any such Prime Minister can come to power in Pakistan then India is also not very far away from such circumstances. I do not know what would be the consequences of the way you are leading the country to..... It is for you to decide, you are the spokesman and I can only warn you in time.

This is true that lndia and Pakistan are both neighbouring countries. Both the countries are facing similar type of problems and pressures. We cannot exist without making compromise with each other. I will continue to emphasize this point whether anybody listens or not. We are not being listened to.

Now you should give reply to the country that has not been replied to with confidence by you for the last two years. I am anguished over the fact that the freedom of the country that was attained by making sacrifices is now being mortgaged to other countries? Moreover, speeches that you make are so much hyperbolic that they give an impression that we the Members sitting on this side are all unworthy and inefficient persons and you alone are all wise. This will not do. If we have pain, you must try to understand that. We may be missing the wisdom that is possessed by Chidambaramji, Manmohanji or by Balram Jhakharji, but you must, at least, share the acumen possessed by Sitaram Kesriji since he is also illiterate like us and he has the privilege of belonging to the period where politics emerged from agony.

The politics did not emerge from documents during that period. Politics emerging from written documents is leading the country to doom and this will be so even in future also. We know what will happen tomorrow. Do you think that there is no one in the country who understands the things? During the course of his speech Chidambaram Saheb told yesterday that certain relaxations had been provided to farmers and that the country was in a position to earn foreign exchange by exporting flowers and boquets as well as many other things. The country where 80 per cent farmers possess less than one hectare of land cannot export bouquets to other countries. This thing can not be understood by the wise Ministers and leaders of this country.

The wise man of the country talks of exporting flowers even in the background of the fact that 80 per cent farmers of the country have less than one hectare of land in their possession. You may not be knowing but Manmohan Singhji must be knowing that every possible assistance was provided to African countries 15 years ago. It was advised to boost the production of wheat, rice, coffee and cocoa etc. as those commodities were in short supply in the world markets. Consequently the production of those commodities was increased and enough profit was earned. Traditional agriculture suffered a setback and people stopped growing traditional crops. This was within a period of 12 years. Big factories were set up. There was production of cocoa and huge money was earned in 12-15 years. Those who were dealing in such business later on, caused great damage to the business and consequently the export of coffee and cocoa was stopped. Those traders and farmers left and people of African countries started facing starvation. Do you intend to push India to the same condition? They suggest different slogans for different countries. We have a different agriculture policy. Is it a fact that the farmers of Germany, Japan, France, England, America and Canada are likely to be provided two hundred per cent subsidy while import of even one kilogram of rice from Japan will not be permitted.

Moreover, the spokesman of our country says that permission has been given to import anything from abroad and that there lies the prosperity for farmers. What kind of country do we propose to make?

I had raised my objection in this very House but Advaniji and Atalji kept mum. People of Japan had been trying to establish Japanese city in India for the last 12-15 years. No Govemment had, however, given permission for it. Our present Prime Minister, however, signs an agreement with Japan allowing to establish Japanese city. There is a race among Shri Bhairon Singh Shekhawat, Shri Kalyan Singh and Shri Bhajan Lal over the issue of location of the said city. Shri Bhajan Lal seems to have won the race. What is the rationale behind establishing that city. …*(Interruptions)*… Will they only invest money for the establishment of the city and will they not bring with them their own culture and civilisation.....

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*Mr. Speaker, Sir, if that proposal was approved during my tenure, I really feel ashamed for that. I say it is wrong. Shri Manmohan Singh was my economic advisor at that time who should have told me this. I would like to know if that was the reply to my submission. I want to say that this is the standard of the present Minister.... What is said is done and what is done is said. I do not remember that it was done during my tenure, nevertheless it was wrong. You withheld many programmes undertaken during my regime. Why did you not withhold this programme? What was the compulsion? We never prevented you from withholding it. It is coming to my knowledge for the first time that this proposal was approved during my regime; may be Manmohan Singhji would have done it. Personally, I am not aware of it. But it is wrong even if it was done during that period. I do not claim that I cannot commit mistakes, but the point is should the fate of the country be determined by this mistake. Will your policies be based on that mistake? Should the charges of corruption be not proved-view of this? I would like to say that this Government is committing mistakes in every sphere and those mistakes will not only prove a curse to our economic and social set up, rather they would also be responsible for mortgaging the future of the country.

Economic statistics is presented everyday to emphasise the point that inflation has come down. But the point is whether the prices of essential commodities used by labourers and farmers and by salaried class have come down ever since the present Government assumed office. Have the prices come down in the country? Prices of every item is soaring, but it is presented through statistics as if they are coming down. You are a master

* Replying to the Comments, "On this point, I would respectfully submit to you, if you look at the records, that proposal was approved when you were the Prime Minister". Made by Shri Manmohan Singh the then Minister of Finance.

of jugglery of statistics, but you can never satiate the aspirations of the people through statistics.

For whom is this politics and economic policies meant. This country is heading towards a doom on account of the statistics that is understandable to a few wise persons only. Has the present Government been able to maintain a harmony in the country?

I do not want to repeat the bygone events. Can any Prime Minister of any of the countries of the world say that he was betrayed. You were not betrayed so far as the event of 6th December is concerned rather you betrayed the country at large. You caused a blow to the values of the country. Who was not betrayed in that event? Every one apprehended demolition of the Babri Masjid and that is why sought its protection. All right, let us presume that it was a case of betrayal and the Government kept mum since Advaniji was involved in it. The demolition, you know, started at 12 o'clock which continued for seven hours and the Government refrained from taking any action. Now what I would like to submit is that this inactive and dummy Government could not do anything to undo the act of disgrace done to India.

Leave aside even this. All right, the Masjid was demolished. We had impressed upon you to make a statement that Masjid would be reconstructed on the same site. When the announcement of constructing mosque on same site was made, who put the responsibility on Shankracharyas? Those who evade discharging responsibilities are responsible for complicating the issue by shifting the responsibilities on others. You are responsible for allowing for getting the masjid demolished, you are responsible for allowing them to accept make shift mandir. And again, it was you who assured to get the masjid rebuilt there. Now you are again shifting your stand by leaving these matters to be decided by religious priests. Advaniji was wise enough to immediately place a Guru here itself. One it would be interesting to note whether any competition takes place or not. The fact, however, remains that Advaniji has taken him to the heights where he is most likely to state that there is no difference between him and Advaniji. These things can, therefore, not be kept secret for a long time. I am saying on the basis of those facts and I would not like to speak on corruption. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to make a submission. Whenever and wherever dictatorship has come to assume power in any part of the world, this was so only in the background of the fact that the man in power failed to reply to the issues relating to corruptions. I do not claim that the allegations of corruptions are true or false. I would not refer to the Son or Son-in-law of particular persons but would stick to the allegations that have been made by a person to whom you yourself call a crooked. You take eight, ten-twelve days to

deny the allegation. Your spokesman says that the particular man was assigned with the work of establishing the Government and it was done at the instance of B.J.P. people. Mr. Prime Minister, Sir, when some one is trying to destablise the country, are your hands tied that you cannot take any action against him. A particular person is trying to destablise the highest institution of the country, he is trying to violate the provisions of the Constitution by making statements almost daily, as he has made a statement even yesterday, but this Government can not dare to act against him.

How do you think that people around the world would consider you to be clean? That is the question before our country. Dr. Manmohan Singhji, I have seen your helplessness. When you referred to the issue of Gold Star and to other issues, I did not make any comment. It is not that you are not aware and that other persons do not understand it. But I understand your dilemma. It is a problem for you to speak the truth and it is also a problem that you cannot make false statement, so it is good to be silent. All right, you should remain silent like this because it is better for you. I am, however, not adding anything from my own side in regard to the issue of Gold Star. Is, what is there in official report, not enough?

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I am pointing out the same thing. The helplessness of Dr. Manmohan Singh pinches me as he is not a store clerk who is to provide the documents asked by JPC. It is not enough. In case of such serious allegations, it becomes the duty of the Government and its Ministers to tell truth to the country and the parliament.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the problem is that more than CBI.....

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Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to point out that this helplessness of our Ministers put a question mark on this Parliament. Not only our Finance Minister is helpless but our Prime Minister is also helpless. Whosoever says any thing or raises any issue, neither any reply to it is given nor any reaction is shown, persons who do not have the courage how and for how long they can run the country?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to submit that you also belong to the traditions of Congress. Congress traditions of Nehru and Gandhi era can be exceptional. In 1970, 1974, 1975 whenever some serious matters arose, people raised their voice against it, whether they were heard or not. But day before yesterday when Mr. Buta Singh was speaking on the issue, I understand this agony through his speech. Sometimes I like to intervene into it, as I have talked to him several times as Home Minister. Several times I suggested him to raise this issue in Parliament and assured him of

my support. But he did not have the courage to break the cordon around him and now all the Members of Congress Party are feeling themselves as trapped in that cordon. I suggest them to break this cordon. When I say to break it I do not mean that Congress party should do it. You please suggest the Prime Minister to go into exile for at least fourteen months if not for fourteen years for the sake of the country. It will save the Congress Party and Parliamentary democracy in the country otherwise Congress can not survive.

.....Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to say that today our country is facing a great problem of saving the democracy. It is a problem of saving and protecting the Constitution of India and secularism. Mr. Advaniji I was shocked to learn your statement on the economic liberalisation policy brought by Mr. Manmohan Singh. Shri Advaniji said that Narasimha Rao is the only Prime Minister after Lal Bahadur Shastri, who has also to do this. The last battle in India will be fought on economic issues, for food, drinking water, unemployment and hunger. Mr. Advaniji, I am afraid that you may be on Narasimha Rao's side on that day. It is a dangerous thing, so I would like to tell the youth that slogans from BJP, of religion and castes, can provoke their sentiments but they cannot solve the problems of the country. I was very happy and proud of the courage of our people when Sarsanghchalak of RSS had called to launch a swadeshi movement. I had openly supported it and said that it was a right step by RSS. But now no such slogan is being heard..... We will wait for it. If such things happen I will be very happy. In Parliamentary democracy none is untouchable and contemptible for ever. I hope and call the youth from Congress as well as from Bhartiya Janata Party to remove the restrictions of narrow mindedness in the name of religion or caste. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have to work for the progress of the country. With regret I would like to say that Narasimha Raoji has been unable to do this.

One of my friend has asked who will be the Prime Minister? Congress has more than 200 Members. There are several intelligent and clear people among them. I do not think that they will not be able to find one. No person is the full stop in history, everyone is a coma. Mahatma Gandhi and Gautam Buddha were also a coma. We notice that it has not made any difference even after they have gone. I think that the country will go on progressing even after us and Shri Narasimha Rao. I would like to call the Congress Party people to show courage for his removal for the sake of the country.

CONFIDENCE MOTION 1997*

Mr. Chairman, Sir, about the debate, what is going on today I would like to say that it is the most unfortunate and shameful day in the parliamentary history of India. I have many differences on political level with Shri Jaswant Singh but even then I do not agree with Shri Somnath. In place of thinking about the prestige of the country Shri Jaswant Singh has tried to raise this issue at this level. I would like to say to hon. Vajpayeeji that the matter of 'Vanar Sena' is not related to the Members on this side but at times he is also becoming a part of it, consciously or unconsciously. I am saying this after due consideration. As Somnathji has also mentioned that the decision of Congress Party regarding withdrawal of the support from U.F. Government in present situation creates suspicion in the minds of people. Why 30th March had been fixed for it. Why in Congress Party the issue regarding withdrawal of support was discussed with such an importance and in haste, that also at such a juncture when we were trying to improve our relations with the neighbouring countries of Pakistan and Bangladesh and hon. Prime Minister was in Moscow to sign an agreement on a controversial issue which was given high importance in the world polity. I and all the members know that some persons did not like to see him in the Chair of Prime Minister when he returned from Moscow after signing the agreement. Our Minister of External Affairs, Minister of Home Affairs, Shri Somnath and Vajpayeeji are aware of the history behind it. Our relations with Pakistan are worsening. Some forces are trying to do that for last 50 years. Jaswantji had criticized the functioning of this Government but I would like to say that no one can serve better than Shri I.K. Gujral so far as India's relations with Pakistan are concerned and if the relations with Pakistan have improved, it is due to his efforts. Today, the whole world is displeased and trying to pull down India from emerging as a super power. This had been one country in the past which has been divided in several parts today, it can be called a misfortune or error of the history. Earlier Pakistan, Bangladesh, Srilanka and Burma were the parts of one nation and India can become a great nation if people of SAARC countries start thinking in one and constructive direction. It can become a challenge for those countries, which are directing the world polity today and think that poor and weak countries have no right to maintain their dignity and respect. At such a time, it was not correct

* Participating in the Motion of Confidence in the Council of Ministers, Lok Sabha Debate, 11 April 1997, *cc*. 53-58

to create unstability in the country. I do not want to repeat the issues taken up by Shri Somnath just now. As a student of politics the decision of withdrawal of support from UF Government by Congress Party at a time of political upheaval in world politics creates suspicion in my mind.

With this apprehension in my mind, I would like to say that it cannot be called a prudent decision but it is a political crime and history will decide and punish the concerned political parties sometime. The policies of the Government which are being criticized and Deve Gowdaji is being blamed, I would like to know as to how these points are justified. Is the opinion of the present Government and the former Government differ at any point? I am not a supporter of their economic policy. I never dreamt about the success of Chidambaram's economic policy. I never felt that the budget presented by him is going to provide any relief to poor class. My friend Shri Murli Manohar Joshi criticized the budget that it will ruin the country. I always criticized these policies. This is a open fact. But the dream of hon. Prime Minister and hon. Finance Minister regarding developing the country by external investment cannot come true. I always expressed my dissent on it in this House and outside also.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, do we not care for dignity, greatness and future of our country. This country with a population of 100 crore which has thousand years old civilization and culture and the whole world hopes for some good from this country. I do not want to repeat what has been said by our Minister of External Affairs.

Shri P.R. Dasmunsiji is not present here now. He spoke with a great enthusiasm. It is good also and one has to show more enthusiasm when he has to support a wrong thing. But his speech was not factual. The whole world and newspapers of this country are praising Shri Gujral for his achievements in the field of foreign policy. Gujralji is my friend and he may become Prime Minister of this country. I am not praising him much because someone may get a wrong impression. I would like to say that whether there is Atal Bihariji or Gujralji or any other person who is playing an important role for progress and development of the country and it is really heartening , that at such an important time one is pulled down. Is it a new tradition of Congress Party. What it actually indicates?

I do not know as to whether it is correct or not but as far as the issue of secularism is concerned, it has been published in various newspapers that credibility of Deve Gowda was suspected because he had secret alliance with BJP. Though Shri Santosh Mohan Dev keeps on alerting the Party but is himself not attentive. Why you were not alert at the time of demolition of Babri Masjid. Were only Shri Vajpayee, Murli Manohar Joshi or Prime Minister responsible for that? You were also Minister at that time and

seen the demolition of Babri Masjid and now you are preaching secularism to Deve Gowdaji. I know him very well and it will be better if you leave the work of issuing certificate to others. Uptil when you will keep on criticizing BJP in the name of secularism? Have you ever made an introspection?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I did not want to participate in this debate but speaking here on your instructions. I am very sorry to say that no political party or person can be treated as untouchable in parliamentary democracy. I know that my words may be misinterpreted. I have said this on several occasions that I do not agree with policies of BJP. But the BJP is also a part of this Parliament. Somnathji you should keep in mind that you cannot run the Parliamentary democracy by alienating them, it can be dictatorship only. One of my friends, in BJP who may be present here has warned me so many times that I should not speak in favour of both the sides. I would like to say that I speak whatever I feel correct whether one may feel good or bad due to it. I do not have any personal interest in it and not from today but since 1962 I am speaking what I felt correct. Gujralji can be witness to my point. How many times he came to me with offer of ministership. Now they are preaching us the tradition and history of Congress Party. Which history? The history that was created on 30th March? Or that history in which Subhash Chandra Bose used to oppose the principles of Mahatma Gandhi and people of Congress Party used to support him? I pity on certain leaders of Congress Party especially my friend Shri Sarad Mehta who had been my colleague during socialist movement and he is a man of principles and committed to high ideals. But I would like to know as to on the basis of which ideals this letter was written. I do not give much importance to it. The person, who has written this letter is familiar with the greatness and dignity of this country. Does he know about its impact on future and history of the country. Is he aware of the fact that it can create instability and disturbance in the country, though I do not want to repeat those facts of history.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I was also in the Congress Party at the time when present Congressmen were not there but many stalwarts were there. I was in the Working Committee in which I used to oppose the great leaders like Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Today, Shri Rajesh Pilotji is sitting here. I had great hopes from him. He takes inspiration from Shivaji at Pune but here I do not know from whom he takes inspirations..... Not from me.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I also would like to say one more thing here. Many people are discussing about it and even Shri Atalji was also asking me as to what is the opinion of Shri Sharad Pawar. I would like to state that after 30th March, I have seen Shri Pawar today only and I had no telephonic conversation with him. In a difficulty people come to me but they do not come to me at the time of creating difficulty.

I am saying this thing because it is a serious crisis and we should not take it lightly. We should take it seriously. You may be annoyed with an individual, individual will come and go but no one is the last man of the history.

No one is a full stop in the history. Even departmental people are semicolons.

The Leaders and the Prime Ministers will come and go but Mr. Sontosh Mohan Devji the values for which the Congress Party stood should not be crushed under the feet. You may or may not support the Government because it is your party decision.

*Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful for his invitation but he should remember that I left the Congress when Shrimati Indira Gandhi was its leader. Shri Gujralji knows very well under what circumstances I left the party. During emergency in 1975 the Opposition parties had to take the decision as to what they should do. They had only alternative that they should go to jails but I had two options either to join the Union Government or go to jail and I accepted to go to jail. Shri Gujralji knows that I did not accept the proposal to join the Government. You also came to me at that time. Therefore, I do not say such things.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, at that time I left the Congress and now I feel pity on the proposal that I should join the Congress. The Congress should become an organisation which believes in programmes, principles and ideology. I was the only person who said that the Congress Party has its own history, it is a big party and a mass based party. This Congress Party can be revived but Shri Sontosh Mohan Devji for that purpose you have to show the courage. Shri Rajesh Pilotji, you show the courage but you should have a strong will to go on it alone. Shri P.R. Dasmunsiji, it is easy to quote Rabindranath Tagore but you must remember that the desire to go along with the group is a sign of weakness. If only few people in the Congress learn to go alone then this party can become a strong organisation even today. When Shri Sontosh Mohan Devji will form a Congress Party and will invite me, I will certainly thinkover his proposal but he should remember one thing that I would not like to even touch the present Congress Party from far away.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to say that in such a grave crisis, it is not good to point towards any individual. Politics is not for personal allegations, be it in the name of principles or ideology. We should remain far away from such personal allegations.

* Replying to Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev's comments, "You are also responsible for the present condition of the Congress Party. Many times we have requested you to join the party but every time you refused to join. Had you joined the Congress, the condition of this party would have not been so.

I would like to say one more thing hesitantly but considering it as my national duty. The time has come today when we all, whether sitting on treasury benches or the opposition benches, should think as to what are the challenges before us and what are the problems before us. If we can evolve consensus on the national issues, chalk out programmes to solve those problems and try to run the Parliamentary democracy accordingly then I think we would be able to overcome the present crisis. It is a real crisis. This undignified crisis may suit you but I would like to say that it would be a good thing if you get rid of this crisis hovering over the country as soon as possible.

I also would like to request the Opposition leader that hence forth this Government would run on his own discretion. Is it necessary for them to support the letter which was written by the Congress Party. Today if you will vote against the Government that would amount to support the letter and you would not be able to express your anguish by voting against the Government. The sky will not fall within seven days. If this Government survives on 13th that would blemish the face of those people who have behaved in most irresponsible and undignified manner. They have committed a crime against the nation in which they have ignored the moral values and their rational duties. You should not join them today because I do not expect anything good from them but I definitely expect that you would act wisely. With these words, I conclude.

MOTION OF CONFIDENCE 1997*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Mr. Gujral has been elected as the Prime Minister of the country. He is an old friend of mine. He is a political worker, as well as a man of wisdom. I congratulate him and my good wishes are with him that he should try to lead the country in a new direction. I have a lot of expectations from him. But when I read his statement today in the morning, I was a bit disappointed to some extent. He reminded the days of freedom struggle in the beginning of his speech. He reminded us the experiences of the jail, about Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi. He also reminded us about the sacrifices made by the people and at the same time, he also said that we would work towards removing poverty, helplessness, pain and suffering of the masses. But I don't know what has happened to our country, whosoever becomes the Prime Minister, he starts from these points that liberalisation would continue, foreign companies would continue to come, they would continue to increase the grace of the country. In my view, the experience of the whole of the world is same. Somnathji, you know more than me that wherever, the foreign companies have gone...My friend the former Minister of Finance and ex-Minister of Commerce has come. I respect him very much. He is one of my old friends. I had told him at that time I was not satisfied with budget. But because of his qualifications, I request him to join the Government because this Government requires the leadership of people like you. Whatever Shri Somnath Chatterjee may do, he cannot contribute anything in running this Government. Because the ways this Government have adopted and what Mr. Gujral has said in his statement, from that it appears that India is going in such a dark alley from where it would be very difficult to come out. It is not an usual thing. How we would be able to change language, definition and the mentality of the country by giving assurances of liberalisation to the industrialists after becoming the Prime Minister. You sense stability. You can only achieve stability when you try to link the sufferings of the people with your policies. Stability would come when the public of the country realise that time is changing. This budget is meant for a handful of people. If you are happy over a few luxury items brought in the budget of our earlier Finance Minister and if you consider that happiness as happiness of India, then keep in mind that the

* Participating in the Motion of Confidence in the Council of Ministers, Lok Sabha Debate, 22 April 1997, *cc.* 99-103

feelings of the people would be aroused, there would be anarchy and lawlessness. Martin Luther King had said:—

"Violence is nothing but an expression of oppressed feelings."

Today the feelings of the people are suppressed and they expect something else from us. Mr. Speaker, we would like to suggest to our Prime Minister to change his policies to some extent. I don't say that you should change the policy of liberalisation or you should try in that direction. If you would try, perhaps this Government would fall much earlier than it is expected to. I want that this Government should remain in power. You would not be able to take some concrete step, but change your voice. I had told my friends of Congress at that time, there is not any ill intention also, Congress has always been speaking the language of the poor people, but I don't want to go into that dispute that how much it has done for the poor. But the slogan of 'Garibi Hatao' had continuously been in the air from Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru to Indira Gandhi. Pandit Nehru had said that if regional imbalances would continue to increase, the country would split. I think that inequality would increase due to the present economic policies. Inequality between people and the regions would increase. Our friend Shri Venkat Swami got angry with us for nothing. I had never referred to the name of his president in my speech. I don't consider myself competent enough to say something about him. But I would like to say that Shri Deve Gowdaji was not responsible for abolishing Public Undertakings. This work was started by Shri Manmohan Singhji who is present in the House. You raised your voice in favour of disinvestment in Public Undertakings. Why you are silent today? So, don't blame others. Congressmen should not get angry with us. It is the old culture of Congress that abuses the outgoing persons and salutes the persons joining it. It is not in favour of the country. I ask you that Shri Sharad Pawar did not utter a word on that day. Today, he sees all demerits in Shri Deve Gowda. You have also treated Shri Narasimha Rao in the same manner. This is neither the culture of India nor Congress.

If there is no courtesy in politics then we cannot bring any change in the development of the country. There may be political differences. If we don't respect Atalji, if we don't respect Shri Somnath Chatterjee, if we don't respect Shri Indrajit Gupta, if we cannot respect Shri Narasimha Rao then we cannot do anything. The people who cannot give respect to leaders of such a stature can never support the idea of providing a respectful life to 40 crores helpless people. That is why I say that there is no difference between ordinary etiquette and revolutionary thoughts. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to say one more thing, Sushmaji have delivered a very good speech today. I have sent her a written complimentary note. But whenever Sushmaji starts her speech sometimes she creates a lot of misunderstanding.

I want to tell her that I do not figure in that list about which you have made a mention. Congress Party had not withdrawn support from us. Sushmaji you know that even after my resignation, at that time leaders of Congress continued to say that we have not withdrawn support but Chandra Shekharji has resigned on his own. I won't wait for that because I believe that whosoever is the Prime Minister, Prime Minister's post is a respectable post, no compromise can be made in this regard—be it Deve Gowda, Narasimha Rao or Gujral Saheb because they are representing 90-95 crore people of the country. Sontosh Mohanji, if either you or I insult him then it is the insult of the whole nation. As long as we don't understand this basic principle, Parliamentary democracy can not survive here.

On that very day I said my intentions were not to point out any individual, Deve Gowdaji is my friend. He was Prime Minister at that time. By insulting him the country cannot make progress. If you were displeased with him and that displeasure could be just also but the withdrawing of the support could be on some other occasion, I am sure that you will consider this basic thing. Don't put the entire blame on former Finance Minister that inflation has increased and export has been reduced. Shri G. Venkat Swamy has chargesheeted such Finance Minister who is quitting his office. Had Chidambaramji been there on that Chair perhaps friends from Congress might not have levelled such charges on him but you are also involved in it to some extent, only Chidambaramji is not involved in it. Chidambaramji must have had contributed 5 per cent in it, 95 per cent contribution is of our able friend Manmohan Singh's who has led the country on this road. Therefore, you should not say that all happened in 10 months time. If there is any wrong then whether the country is following this path knowingly or unknowingly.

Somnathji, Indrajitji, Mulayam Singhji, have mentioned about Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia here, but the future of the country will not be decided by discussing that who is secular or who is communal. The question of secularism or communalism arises only when we try to see the inclination of the sentiments of the people of this country. When a person groaning under scorching heat, with pain and grief, he does not see any future for himself, when he finds no pleasure for himself in the developmental process then he tries to link himself with his old identity, his old existence. Today when crores of helpless people in the country do not find their share in the economic development of the country then they try to lessen their guidance by linking themselves with caste and religion. These casteist forces and forces playing politics in the name of religion will continue to grow so long as there is illiteracy, helplessness, exploitation, and man is not ready to give a respectful life to others. Mulayam Singhji has slightly discussed, those questions, also named them but they do not stretch secularism to

such an extent which may encourage fanatic forces, either of this side or the other.

Today, I am very much satisfied, very happy after hearing the speech of Somnathji. He has said one thing that today cooperation is needed, consensus is needed, we will have to solve all the problems collectively and we will have to seek cooperation of the people sitting on this side, will have to continue them that there is difference between our and their programmes. Chidambaramji has expressed his views wisely. Having one or two things, do not pass budget only to please Sushmaji. All other points of yours are correct. It may please Sushmaji or not but Advaniji must be happy, but it will equally displease Murli Manohar Joshi. This is a matter of concern for us. What can we do, we are to live in this country. I would like to submit that we should work collectively.

Just now, one of our friends has said that at the time when I was in Janata Party, I took the help of the Bhartiya Janata Party but at that time political scenario was topsyturvy and India was heading towards dictatorship. Being the member of the Congress Working Committee I had lived in solitary confinement for 18 months. At that time your leader had asked if I was ready for agreement. I had told him that there can be no compromise between dictatorship and democracy. At that time also, I had categorically told him that the only issue today is to save democracy. Each of the countries of the third world in Asia, Africa and Latin America, who got freedom used democracy but after some time the democratic set up there, faded away. The democracy was alive only in India and the whole world alongwith the political critics said that the democracy was over in India.

At that time, people like us, like Atal Bihari Vajpayee, our friend Bommai, Murli Manohar Joshi and Ram Vilas Paswan needed to take everybody along with us. It was need of the hour.

I have never said that by getting close to BJP I would develop a liking for its ideology. We say it with pride that the honour our then External Affairs Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayeeji had earned as a secular politician, might have been earned by a few persons. If we work collectively then all the problems can be solved. We do not want to work collectively. At least Atalji is a witness to it.

The issue of Babri Masjid, in the name of which the Bhartiya Janata Party is cursed, was likely to be solved. Mulayam Singhji knows about it. Had our Government been there for one or one and a half months more then this issue could not have come up? Who did not let this issue be solved? Mulayam Singh should at least convey this thing to the person responsible for it. I cannot say, since I have made a promise that whatever I have come to

know as a Prime Minister would not disclose but you are free. You can say so. Had we shown some patience and had the Government not been toppled over on that day then the issue of secularism could not have cropped up in this way.

Let us think again. Let us learn something from past mistakes. Mr. Speaker, Sir, there are weaknesses in us but I would like to say one thing in the last. I would like to conclude with one couplet of Raghupati Sahai Firaq, which I had read while I was in jail.

"Is Khandhar Mein Kutch Diye Hain Tute Huye
inhi Se Kaam Chalaao Badi Udaas Hai Raat."

MISCELLANEOUS

HAWALA CASE*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the question raised by Shri Somnath Chatterjee was in my view, more important. The basic question after the judgement of the Supreme Court is whether we are wholly independent in discharging our responsibility in regard to the dignity of the House, its rights and its duty towards the people? If we are unable to answer this basic question, then by accusing one another and indulging in high moral talks we would neither be enhancing the dignity of the House nor of the nation.

I agree to majority of views of my friend Shri Indrajit Gupta. I am not prepared to believe that a person becomes corrupt merely on the basis of an accusation.....

.....**The only regret I have is about the Prime Minister's statement that surprised me. After the Supreme Court judgement, I was under the impression that the Prime Minister would request the Supreme Court to spell out the reasons for this kind of an observation. But from the statement made by him today, it seems the Solicitor General too has admitted this fact. As long as the Supreme Court did not point out to the Solicitor General that the Government was interfering or there is something fishy about it, there was no need to make such a statement. If the Solicitor General has given an assurance to the Supreme Court that the Prime Minister would not issue any directive or orders to the CBI nor supervise its working, then he is neither aware of his duty nor of the legal system and the Parliamentary system. As has been said by Shri Somnath Chatterjee, we may agree that the Prime Minister has no authority in this matter either to give instructions to the CBI or interfere in its working, but when an apprehension that a charge can be levelled against anyone is expressed and for this reason the CBI has been directed not to seek any instruction nor give any information to any authority, this is an ominous portent, Mr. Prime Minister, you are not mindful of your dignity. But in the Parliamentary democracy, you are the leader of Lok Sabha. If you come under cloud, even indirectly, it is a blow to the dignity of the House.

I do not plead for anyone's resignation. To resign from a high post is not that easy. I know it requires a lot of will power. But, the hon'ble Prime Minister is adorning an exalted post. I have never commented on the

* Participating in the Motion regarding Government's failure to answer Charges relating to the Hawala Case, Lok Sabha Debate, 8 March 1996, *cc*. 217-221

** In reply to Shri Indrajit Gupta's Comment, "I did not say so..."

judgement of the Supreme Court. It is within their jurisdiction. Whatever they do for justice is binding on all. But the Supreme Court has no right to interfere with the powers of the Prime Minister in a Parliamentary democracy. If that right by the Prime Minister…*(Interruptions)*…

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in view of your directive I have nothing to say. But I fail to understand what caused the hon'ble Member to think that I am challenging the authority of the Supreme Court. I had said that the Supreme Court has full authority in legal matters. I have never held the office of a judge but I have certainly studied the Constitution.

The Constitution has explicitly defined the powers of various States and Institutions and they enjoy autonomy in their fields. Similarly, the Parliament and the Executive enjoy independent status. If the Supreme Court gives an inkling that it has doubts on the role of the Executive head in certain matter then it would become difficult to implement the Constitution provisions. What I mean to say is that the Government on that very day should have asked the Supreme Court to spell out the reasons that necessitated this observation.

I was surprised when the hon'ble Prime Minister said in his statement the Solicitor General agreed to the observation of the Supreme Court. If it is so, the situation then becomes ominous. In such a situation any discussion here becomes meaningless. Because when the Supreme Court casts a doubt on the Leader of the House and he does not rebutt, I fail to understand how a leaderless Parliament can have a discussion on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not want to go into the issue of allegation and counter-allegation. I neither seek anybody's resignation nor make an appeal in the name of morality. But those people who are making a hue and cry should remember the fact that the foreign forces are bent upon creating a situation of instability in the country. It should be always kept in mind that instability can be created by levelling charges on one another. India is not a corrupt country. Here 80 per cent population earn their livelihood by dint of their hard labour. The remaining 20 per cent populace which comprise Government servants, army jawans and others, lead a respectable life. I would like to request that we should not speak irrelevent things about India in our speeches. Sir, through you, I would like to urge the hon'ble Prime Minister that he could have served the country and the House better had he not read the statements prepared by his officers.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Shri Nirmal Kanti Chatterjee has put this question more correctly. It is not important as to how and when this incident happened but what is more important is its impact on our social and political life. Sometimes very trivial incidents change the course of history. It is also important as to whom the incident is related. If any incident indicates even the slightest involvement of the leader of the House or the Prime Minister of the country, then it becomes more important and if we consider the incident as per Rules and Regulations, we shall not be able to impart justice to this Parliament.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, let me make it clear at the outset that as the Speaker of the House, you have got discretionary powers, so that if a situation arises you may take a decision even rising above rules and give a ruling, keeping in mind the dignity of the House and the future of the country.

My colleague who has left the House just now had said that whatever happened in 1977 was an act of retaliation. It pained me because Indiraji was jailed for one day whereas I was put in jail for 18 months, but I never said that it was done in retaliation. Sir, I beg your pardon but it is easy to say, as you have said, that we want to repeat the tradition set up by that Parliament. That Parliament also consisted of responsible Members, and all of them were not irresponsible. All of them were not acting with a revengeful attitude. I would like to say two things in this regard.

Some of my colleagues say that it is the duty of the hon'ble Prime Minister to give an assurance. The assurance was given before voting and after voting it was not honoured. It is not fair. To give an assurance by the hon'ble Prime Minister at that time was not proper and non-fulfilment of that assurance is even worse. Well, it is a different matter. Now, you may ask whether the money was taken or not? But, the question is whether this House needs this clarification? An hon'ble Member of this House makes the statement in the presence of the Leader of the Opposition and at least 50 media persons and the next day, changes that statement. Sir, it is true that as per the rules, statement made by him in the House should be given due recognition. But propriety demands that we should know as to how his

* Participating in a Question of Privilege regarding Alleged Pay offs to some Members for voting against the No-confidence Motion; Lok Sabha Debate, 11 March, 1996, *cc*. 330-332.

mind has changed within 24 hours. Shall we not give it a thought, whether it comes in the purview of the Rules or not? I am not much conversant with the Rules, but in our Parliamentary democracy, an hon'ble Member of the House makes a statement outside the House in a press conference and changes his stand within 24 hours. My colleagues in the Congress Party may take it as their victory but I take it as the biggest defeat of the Parliamentary democracy.

Secondly, I was going through the statement of another Member. He has stated in this House that he is a poor man and did not purchase gold but deposited the money in the bank. I do not know whether the hon'ble Prime Minister or the hon'ble Ministers should refute this statement or not. Hon'ble Leader of the Opposition, I beg your pardon, I was not present at that moment, but would like to know whether any question arises out of such statement of a Member or not? Secondly, one should know the atmosphere prevailing in the country and what the people think about the Parliament. Sir, when there is such an atmosphere in which every effort from outside the Parliament is being made to underline the dignity of the Parliament, would we, considering these matters as technical, say that there should not be any discussion on this issue? Sir, I do not know whether it is a privilege issue or not but is it not the responsibility of the Leader of the House, the hon'ble Prime Minister to come to the House and make a statement on such an important issue in which one Member changes his earlier statement and another hon'ble Member says that he has deposited money in the bank and in which there is alleged involvement of ex-Minister of Home Affairs and talks with the hon'ble Prime Minister has also been mentioned. But, the Prime Minister has not even considered it necessary to make a statement in the House. He may come back to power again by raising the issue of stability, counting his achievements of five years or by any other miracle just as he changed his minority Government into majority but sometimes, it happens that people in power wipe out democracy also.

Therefore, the question raised by Shri Arjun Singh today, is not a simple one. I beg your pardon for saying something in anger but I would like to say.....

*The question raised by Shri Nirmal Kanti Chatterjee about the seriousness of the matter is right. This matter is related to someone. If you are going to take a decision keeping in view its likely impact on history as well as the dignity of Parliament then, I think, the statement made by Shri Arjun Singh points towards the right direction. If you take a decision keeping this in mind, it will be in conformity with the dignity of the Parliament and you will be doing justice to history.

* Replying to Speaker's (Shri Shivraj Patil), comment, "You are an elderly person. Your anger also guides us."

TEHALKA DOT COM ISSUE*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the manner in which a leading newspaper of Delhi has published certain disclosures about Tehalka episode is not only disgraceful but also against the dignity of the House. It is quite natural for the members to be worried about it. The same tactics were adopted in the Tehelka episode. Through newspapers and electronic media, people all over the world came to know about the corruption prevailing in our Defence Forces. Government constituted a commission in this regard and Defence Forces also constituted their own court. We have come to know through newspapers that they have taken further action also in this regard. When commission's inquiry was on the verge of completion and some people were going to be punished, suddenly another tape was produced by the same people who had produced the Tehalka tape. The statements given in this tape are so objectionable that I think it is not proper to mention them in the House.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, information should not be biased, it should be neutral and independent. Right of Information should be there but it does not mean that information should be collected with the use of immoral measures. It cannot be considered as the national duty to expose the information all over the world and to harm the dignity and prestige of the country, rather it should have been handed over to the Prime Minister, Defence Minister or senior officials first. I am sorry to say that yesterday, Akashvani has also broadcast the statement issued by the Tehalka spokesman. He has stated that they have done it in the interest of the country and will continue to do so. Some serious steps are required to be taken in this matter. I do not know whether there is any legal provision in this regard. As per my knowledge what they have done, is not covered under any rule or legal provision. I do not know what Government is doing. Government have become habitual of keeping mum and expressing its inability on every issue. I would not have raised this issue but I feel that this incident has degraded the reputation of our country and our forces and it has exposed our whole system. I would say that if there is no rule or law in this regard then the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs who is present here, should ask the Minister of Law to keep a check on such people. Can we not tell these persons that Government is there to be worried about the country?

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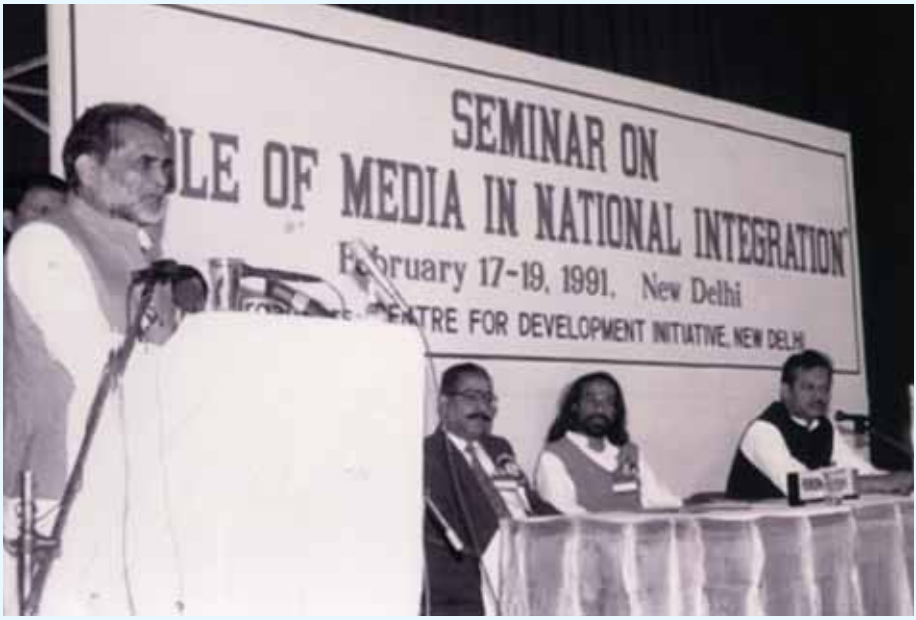
* Participating in Tehelka Issue; Lok Sabha Debate, 23 August 2001, *cc.* 378-379.

I also do not agree with the attitude of the Government. It appears that the Government had become crippled. I fail to understand the reasons due to which the Government remain silent even when remarks are passed against them. Mr. Speaker, Sir, such incidents have happened at several places and it concerns security of the country and the defence forces. Some Members were agitated due to yesterday's happening and it was natural to react in this manner. I have an apprehension that if such incidents are not checked, then this agitation will not confine to the House only but it will spread among our defence forces. It will affect the parliamentary system of Government.

Casting Vote, Ballia, 15 June 1991



Addressing a Seminar New Delhi, 19 February 1991

Addressing a public meeting, Katni, Madhya Pradesh, 23 February 1991

Addressing public meeting, Chhapra, Bihar, 25 March 1991

Addressing a public meeting, Sisoli, Uttar Pradesh, 11 December 1990

Addressing public meeting, Guwahati, Assam, 2 April 1991

PART IV
TRIBUTES TO CHANDRA SHEKHAR

TRIBUTES PAID IN LOK SABHA*

Referring to the passing away of Shri Chandra Shekhar, the Speaker said Shri Chandra Shekhar was a sitting member of the Fourteenth Lok Sabha representing the Ballia Parliamentary Constituency of Uttar Pradesh. He was also a member of the Sixth, Seventh and Ninth to Fourteenth Lok Sabha from 1977 to 1984 and 1989 to 2004, representing the same Parliamentary Constituency. He was also a member of the Rajya Sabha for three consecutive terms from 1962 to 1977, representing the State of Uttar Pradesh.

Chandra Shekharji was among the country's most respected political leaders. He was initiated into politics in the early 1950s, inspired by the great socialist leader, Acharya Narendra Deva. He came to be known as the "Young Turk" in his early political career because of his principled stand on many important issues, on which he held views different from the traditional approach. Indeed, he was a rebel against injustice and discrimination.

An illustrious parliamentarian with four decades of significant contribution, he played a pro-active role in the parliamentary deliberations. A consummate orator, his speeches in Parliament had a rare force and they reflected his vision of a resurgent India. He was fearless in the expression of his views, but always maintained dignity in his dealings with those who held different political views. His presence and interventions in Parliament during periods of turmoil had quite often helped to restore calm in the House. His was an authentic voice of a conscientious leader and he never compromised with the declining ethical values in public life. The Parliament recognized his illuminating contributions in parliamentary deliberations and conferred on him the Outstanding Parliamentarian Award in 1995.

Shri Chandra Shekhar had the distinction to serve as the Prime Minister of India from 10 November 1990 to 21 June 1991 and during this period held several important portfolios. As Prime Minister, he took quite a few pro-people initiatives, which showed his enlightened statesmanship and political sagacity.

Shri Chandra Shekhar was the Chairman, Committee on Ethics from 2000 to 2001 and again from 2005 onwards.

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* Obituary reference made in the Lok Sabha; Lok Sabha Debate, 10 August 2007, *cc*. 35-42.

A man of strong convictions, he took a principled and uncompromising stand on basic policies. He believed that the common man must be central to the policies and programmes of the Government. He undertook a *Padyatra* of 4260 kms. from Kanyakumari to Rajghat, New Delhi in 1983 to establish rapport with the masses and to understand their problems; and established Bharat Yatra Centres in various States to educate the social and political workers at grass-root level.

Shri Chandra Shekhar's life is a saga of courage. A socialist to the core, he was a true secular nationalist and was an icon of the youth. He learnt and practised politics in an era when ideals were sacrosanct.

Shri Chandra Shekhar was an uncompromising champion of secular and democratic values. He fiercely opposed any deviation from these values, as he believed that these form the very foundations of the Indian nation. He demonstrated his unshakable faith in these values in his life and his active participation in the movement launched by Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan greatly contributed to its success.

A man of letters, Shri Chandra Shekhar has to his credit publications titled 'Meri Jail Diary' (in Hindi) and 'Dynamics of Social Change'. He was the founder editor and Chairman of the Editorial Advisory Board of a weekly, 'Young Indian'.

With the passing away of Shri Chandra Shekhar, an eventful era in the political history of the country has come to an end. In his demise, the country has lost an eminent parliamentarian, an able administrator, a statesman and a dedicated socialist, who stood for secularism and a casteless society.

Shri Chandra Shekhar passed away on 8 July 2007 at New Delhi at the age of 80, after a prolonged illness.

We deeply mourn the loss of our friend and I am sure the House would join me in conveying our condolences to the bereaved family.

The House may now stand in silence for a short while as a mark of respect to the memory of the departed leader.

(The members then stood in silence for a short while.)

TRIBUTES PAID IN RAJYA SABHA*

In the Rajya Sabha, on 10 August 2007 Deputy Chairman, Shri K. Rahman Khan referred with profound sorrow, the passing away of Shri Chandra Shekhar, a sitting Member of the Lok Sabha and former Prime Minister of India and a former Member of the House, on 8 July 2007, following prolonged illness at the age of 80 years.

Shri Chandra Shekhar was born in July 1927 at Ibrahimpatti village in Ballia district of Uttar Pradesh and had his education at the Allahabad University.

An agriculturist and a social worker, Shri Chandra Shekhar was closely associated with Acharya Narendra Deva. Shri Chandra Shekhar was known for his courage of conviction and principles. A socialist by conviction, he was associated with various socialist movements in the country and was committed to people's welfare. He was also associated with various social institutions and took keen interest in the field of primary education and health services. He undertook *Padyatra* from Kanyakumari to Rajghat, New Delhi and established Bharat Yatra Centres in various States to train the social and political workers for grass-root work and mass education.

Shri Chandra Shekhar was the President of the Janata Party from the year 1977 to 1978 and was leader of the Samajwadi Janata Party (Rashtriya). He was founder-editor and Chairman of the Editorial Advisory Board of a weekly 'Young Indian'.

The distinguished legislative career of Shri Chandra Shekhar, which spanned over four decades, commenced with the membership of this August House. He represented the State of Uttar Pradesh in this House for three terms from April 1962 to April 1968; April 1968 to April 1974 and again, from April 1974 to March 1977. He was also a member of the Sixth, Seventh, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Lok Sabha. Known for his oratorical skills, he was always heard with rapt attention in the House. Because of his exemplary parliamentary performance, the outstanding Parliamentarian Award was conferred on him in the year 1995.

Shri Chandra Shekhar had the distinction of serving as the Prime Minister of India from 1990 to 1991.

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* Obituary Reference made in the Rajya Sabha; Rajya Sabha Debate, 10 August 2007, pp. 27-28.

In the passing away of Shri Chandra Shekhar, the country has lost an eminent parliamentarian, a veteran socialist leader, an able administrator and a champion of the downtrodden sections of the society.

(The members then stood in silence for one minute).

ANDHRA PRADESH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY*

On 16 July 2007, the Chief Minister, Andhra Pradesh, Dr.Y.S. Raja Shekhar Reddy moved a Condolence Motion on the demise of Shri Chandra Shekhar in the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly, which read as under:

> 'That this house places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the demise of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India and conveys its deep sense of sympathy to the members of the bereaved family.'

Reflecting on the life and times of Shri Chandra Shekhar, Dr. Reddy said that, known as a firebrand political leader since his student days, he was a reformer, progressive thinker and an optimist who had faith in a bright future of our country. Adding further, he said that a strong believer in socialist ideology, Shri Chandra Shekhar relentlessly worked towards bringing about social change to benefit the underprivileged classes of our society.

Several members in the Assembly also paid their homages in memory of Shri Chandra Shekhar. Shri N. Chandrababu Naidu said he was always struggling to establish high values in public life. Shri Chandra Shekhar motivated the common man by leading people's movement in a unique manner. Dr. G. Vijaya Rama Rao called his life as an example of freedom and fearlessness. An honest and straight forward politician as Shri Chandra Shekhar was, Shri Nomula Narasimhaiah said, ".....his departure from Indian politics is a painful loss". Shri Syed Ahmed Pasha Quadri** hailed Shri Chandra Shekhar as the leader of the poor and the weaker sections of our country. He further said, "He (Chandra Shekhar) believed in politics with decency which rendered him an individual identity in politics. He raised his voice equally, for all. He was the one who neither compromised on his principles nor did he yield to any pressure and remained committed to get justice for all. This way, he set an example for adopting ethical values in public life."

Other members who paid their tributes included Shri Chada Venkat Reddy, Shri G. Kishan Reddy, Dr. G. Kuthuhalam, Shri P. Janardhan Reddy, Shri Nayani Narsimha Reddy, Shri Y. Kista Reddy, Shri Mandadi Satyanarayana Reddy, Shri Kunduru Jana Reddy and Shri E. Rajender.

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* Translated from the original in Telugu.

** Spoke in Urdu.

ANDHRA PRADESH LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL*

On 17 July 2007, Dr. A. Chakrapani, Chairman, Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council, recalled that Shri Chandra Shekhar who made a distinct mark as a young progressive leader and whose persona reverberated Parliament for 45 years, was also an accomplished writer and journalist known for his straight and simple language.

The Chief Minister, Andhra Pradesh, Dr. Y.S. Raja Shekhar Reddy moved a Condolence Resolution on the demise of former Prime Minister of India, Shri Chandra Shekhar in the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council, which read as under:-

> "On the demise of former Prime Minister, Shri Chandra Shekhar, the Council expresses deep condolences and sympathy to the bereaved family members."

Paying his tribute, Dr. Reddy said that, inspired by socialist ideology, Shri Chandra Shekhar created his own niche in Indian politics and served as a role model by religiously following the traditions of parliamentary practices. A truly secular politician in every sense, he said, Chandra Shekhar, was always ambitious to implement socialist principles which would ensure fruits of democracy to the underprivileged and the weaker sections of the society. He described him as a matured politician, a firebrand reformist and a progressive thinker who had shown great optimism for the development of our country. Expressing his deep sorrow, he said, "The vacuum created by the demise of Shri Chandra Shekhar cannot be filled and it is an irreparable loss. We lost a great man in public service".

Many members in the Chamber also paid their tributes in the memory of the departed leader. Shri Dadi Veerabhadra Rao hailed Shri Chandra Shekhar as a unique person who never compromised with the policies. He further said that the youth of the country should emulate the political life led by him which was full of goodness, honesty, dynamism and sincerity. Shri Puvvada Nageswarrao remembered Shri Chandra Shekhar as the one who was committed and concerned to establish democratic values in our country. He further said that consistent to his ideologies, Shri Chandra Shekhar always supported the cause of the poor. Shri Kapilavai Dileep

* Translated from the original in Telugu.

Kumar said that a great secularist and socialist, Shri Chandra Shekhar relentlessly fought for the principles he believed in. Describing Shri Chandra Shekhar's demise as a great loss to the Indian politics, Shri Paladugu Venkata Rao said, ".....we lost a pole star". *Shri Syed Altaf Hyder Razvi said ".... with his (Shri Chandra Shekhar's) death, an era has ended in Indian politics. He never compromised in what he believed in and he always spoke, what he did and what he stood for." Shri Palle Raghunatha Reddy said that a multi-faceted personality and a great humanitarian, Shri Chandra Shekhar was known for his hardwork, zeal, great sense of responsibility, efficiency, honesty, good heart and dedication.

Other members who paid their respectful tributes included, Shri Konijeti Rosaiah, Shri Cherupally Seetha Ramulu, Shri Dachuri Rami Reddy, Shri Kompally Yadava Reddy, Shri B. Mohan Reddy, Shri Mohammad Jani, Shri Palvai Govardhan Reddy and Smt. CH. Ganga Bhavani.

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* Who spoke in English.

Following is the text of the Condolence Resolution read out by Shri Tanka Bahadur Rai, Speaker, Assam Legislative Assembly and adopted by the House in its meeting held on 6 August 2007 as a mark of respect in the memory of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India:-

"Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister, veteran politician and eminent social worker passed away on 8 July, 2007. He was 80 years of age at the time of death.

Chandra Shekhar was born on 1 July, 1927, and, he became the Prime Minister of India in the year 1990. He was first elected as a member of the Rajya Sabha in the year 1962. He was a member of 6th and 7th Lok Sabha and again elected continuously to the 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th Lok Sabha. Chandra Shekhar was conferred the award of 'Outstanding Parliamentarian' in 1995. In the field of Indian politics, he was popularly known as *'Young Turk'*. The high point of his career was the 4200 km. long *'Padyatra'* from Kanyakumari to New Delhi in 1983. A devoted social worker, Chandra Shekhar discharged his duties with dedication and honesty and thus became a very respected and popular figure among all sections of the society of the country.

The sad demise of this great personality, former Prime Minister of India, veteran politician and devoted social worker, is a great loss for the nation."

BIHAR VIDHAN SABHA*

On 12 July 2007, expressing a deep sense of grief on the sad demise of Shri Chandra Shekhar the Speaker, Bihar Vidhan Sabha, Shri Uday Narayan Choudhary said, ".....A forceful spokesperson of parliamentary democracy, late Shri Chandra Shekhar was not only a distinguished and an expert parliamentarian, but by the virtue of sheer hard work and high ideals in political life, was elevated to the post of Prime Minister of India in 1991". Extolling his forthright approach on the issues facing the nation, the Speaker further said, ".....The hard work, honesty and truthfulness remained his prime assets throughout social and political life. Shri Chandra Shekhar was a straight forward politician. He was well known for fearlessly presenting the truth before the administration and the people".

* Translated from the original in Hindi.

On July 2007, expressing his condolences on the death of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India, Prof. Arun Kumar, Chairman of the Bihar Legislative Council, said as follows:—

> "He undertook a 'footmarch' from Kanyakumari to Rajghat, New Delhi in 1983 to understand the problems of people and interact with them. He established 'Bharat Yatra Kendra' in various States to train political and social workers. Shri Chandra Shekhar always struggled for upliftment of the weak and the backward sections of society."

CHHATTISGARH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY*

Recalling the life and times of Shri Chandra Shekhar on 9 July 2007, the Speaker, Chhattisgarh Legislative Assembly, Shri Prem Prakash Pandey observed, that actively associated with the socialist movement, Shri Chandra Shekhar was also known as *'Yuva Turk'* for his socialist ideologies. He hailed him (Shri Chandra Shekhar) as a great protagonist of parliamentary dignity who never compromised on principles. He further added that while always working for social justice, he demonstrated the best in human values. With Chandra Shekhar's demise, he said, the country had lost a senior politician, an able administrator and a great writer, thinker, philosopher and social reformer.

Dr. Raman Singh, the Chief Minister of Chhattisgarh expressed his deep agony at the sad demise of Shri Chandra Shekhar and remembered him as the one who worked throughout his life very hard to carry the ideologies of Lohia and Jaya Prakash to the masses. He said that with the passing away of Shri Chandra Shekhar, the present political generation and the political and social activists of the country stood deprived of a pioneer who had the audacity to act against time and tide. He said, "Whenever there was any threat or danger to democracy, Chandra Shekharji's words and actions always served as a guiding spirit for the people".

Shri Mahendra Karma, the Leader of Opposition in the House said that the nation had lost a very powerful leadership in the form of a great thinker, writer and a philosopher. He said, "The discerning stand that he took without losing patience even in the face of heavy political turmoil and adverse situations, is definitely an example worth emulating for generations to come".

Among other members who contributed their tributes included, Shri Novel Kumar Verma, Km. Kamda Jolhe, Shri Dharmjeet Singh and Dr. Ram Chandra Deo Singh.

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* Translated from the original in Hindi.

DELHI VIDHAN SABHA*

On 12 September 2007, Chaudhary Prem Singh, Speaker, Delhi Vidhan Sabha expressed his condolences on the demise of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India. In his obituary reference, he described Shri Chandra Shekhar as a committed social worker and said, "It is very difficult to find such a personality in today's world".

Smt. Sheila Dixit, Chief Minister of Delhi while paying her tributes remembered Shri Chandra Shekhar as an outstanding Parliamentarian, a very able organizer and administrator, a committed socialist and a sincere nationalist who always raised his voice against injustice. A powerful and a fearless speaker, she added, Shri Chandra Shekhar always used to put forth his views without any fear or pressure. Describing his death as an irreparable loss to the country she said ".....it is very difficult to fill up the void".

Other members in the House also paid their respectful tributes. Shri Harsharan Singh Balli said that Shri Chandra Shekhar dedicated his entire life to the service of the nation and provided the country with new tenets in terms of principles and ethics to be followed in one's life. Dr. Jagdish Mukhi, Shri Shoaib Iqbal and Shri Kulwant Rana also offered their tributes in memory of Shri Chandra Shekhar. Shri Mukesh Sharma also associated himself with the sentiments expressed by the House.

* Translated from the original in Hindi.

GUJARAT LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY*

On 19 July 2007, Prof. Mangalbhai Patel, the Speaker, Gujarat Legislative Assembly during his condolatory reference remembered Shri Chandra Shekhar as an inspiring personality and exhorted the House to follow the principles adopted by him during his life time.

Shri Narendra Damodardas Modi, the Chief Minister of Gujarat expressed his deep grief on the passing away of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India in the Gujarat Legislative Assembly. In his condolatory reference, he *inter alia* said, "In the demise of Shri Chandra Shekhar, a sharp and intelligent statesman, an able administrator and the messiah of the poor has bid us adieu putting us in deep sorrow. By his departure, the nation has suffered an irreparable loss".

Many members paid their respectful tributes in the memory of the departed leader. Shri Arjunbhai Modhvadia in his condolatory reference *inter alia* said that Shri Chandra Shekharji symbolized the new generation which led the nation after Independence. Shri Babubhai M. Shah also hailed him as the ideal for the young. Shri Amit A. Shah remembered Shri Chandra Shekhar as a rare personality known for expressing his views fearlessly. Other members who also paid their homage included, Shri Ashok Bhatt (Minister for Parliamentary and Legislative Affairs), Shri Jasabhai Bhanabhai Barad, Shri Shankarbhai D. Vaghela, Shri Shirishkumar Madhusudan Shukla, Shri Jagdish Thakor, Shri Bharatbhai Pandya and Shri Balwantsinh Rajput.

* Translated from the original in Gujarati.

HARYANA VIDHAN SABHA*

On 17 September 2007, Shri Bhupinder Singh Hooda, the Chief Minister of Haryana expressed deep condolences of the Legislative Assembly on the passing away of Shri Chandra Shekhar. He described Shri Chandra Shekhar as a fearless leader and a tough fighter who had deep faith in democratic values. He said that as an emblem of honesty, simplicity and humanity, Shri Chandra Shekhar was truly a secular and nationalist leader of the masses who struggled selflessly throughout his life, looking after the needs of the common man. Adding further, he said, "During the five decades of his political career, though Chandra Shekhar reached the pinnacle of power, he kept himself in touch with the grassroots and led a very simple life..... With Chandra Shekhar's demise, the country is deprived of the services of an experienced parliamentarian, an able administrator and a committed socialist".

* Translated from the original in Hindi.

HIMACHAL PRADESH VIDHAN SABHA*

Shri G.R. Mussafir, Speaker, Himchal Pradesh Vidhan Sabha, described Shri Chandra Shekhar as an outstanding politician and a great personality and said that he maintained highest parliamentary conventions during his tenure as Prime Minister of India.

Shri Virbhadra Singh, Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh, expressed deep condolences on the demise of Shri Chandra Shekhar on behalf of the Himachal Pradesh Vidhan Sabha on 27 August 2007. In his obituary reference, he eulogized Shri Chandra Shekhar for his services to the nation.

Shri Ishwar Dass Dhiman, Member, while paying his tribute said, "Chandra Shekharji enjoyed a very high repute in the parliamentary system and the conventions laid by him are unparalleled".

* Translated from the original in Hindi.

JAMMU AND KASHMIR LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

On 19 July 2007, Shri Tara Chand, Speaker, Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly moved an obituary motion on the passing away of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India. While paying his tributes, he described Shri Chandra Shekhar as a great patriot and a socialist who strived hard throughout his life for the welfare of the masses and for development of the nation.

Shri Abdul Rahim Rather, the Leader of Opposition in the House, in his obituary reference hailed Shri Chandra Shekhar as a great political ideologue, a powerful speaker and a unique leader.

Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad, the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir in his tributes remembered Shri Chandra Shekhar as a candid, fearless, honest and a soft spoken person whose words had great impact on the listeners. He also said that a firm believer in secularism, Shri Chandra Shekhar never compromised on it.

Extolling the extraordinary virtues of Shri Chandra Shekhar, Shri Abdul Aziz Zarger, Minister for Agriculture *inter alia* said that a frontline leader endowed with great wisdom, Shri Chandra Shekhar was an embodiment of good deeds.

Other members also paid their respectful tributes in the memory of the departed leader. Shri M.Y. Tarigami remembered Shri Chandra Shekhar as a towering personality. He *inter alia* said, "...the vital role played by Shri Chandra Shekhar in the nation building at a crucial stage (in country's history) can in no way be ignored". Shri Sharief-ud-din Shariq in his obituary reference described Shri Chandra Shekhar's personality as the one "...of high integrity and values with a revolutionary mind". Besides, Shri Balwant Singh, Shri Jugal Kishore, Shri Ashwani Kumar Sharma, Molvi Abdul Rashid and Pandit Mangat Ram Sharma also offered their homage in the memory of Shri Chandra Shekhar.

JHARKHAND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY*

Shri Alamgir Alam, Speaker, Jharkhand Legislative Assembly, while paying his tributes in the memory of Shri Chandra Shekhar on 17 August 2007, recalled his life and achievements and said, "He solved many complex national problems during his political career. Throughout his life, he neither played politics of compromise nor did he work under pressure in politics. He was a great political thinker, through, whose eyes one could see the sufferings of the poor. His demise has caused a big loss to national politics".

Shri Madhu Koda, the Chief Minister of Jharkhand offering his tributes, said that with Shri Chandra Shekhar's death, the country not only had suffered an irreparable political loss but also lost a dynamic leader who always spoke on behalf of the villagers and the poor. "We can never forget that *'Yuva Turk'*, he said. Adding further, he said that an amazing personality, Shri Chandra Shekhar had a great passion to bring about a change in the country".

Shri Sudhir Mahto, the Deputy Chief Minister of Jharkhand in his obituary reference described Shri Chandra Shekhar as an altogether different personality. He said, "Joining samajwadi politics since his student days, he never looked back throughout his political career..... He was a man of firm convictions to achieve his ambitions".

Many members also paid their homage in the memory of the departed leader. Shri Inder Singh Namdhari said, "I revere him the most for his keen sense of understanding of the need of the hour and his straightforwardness throughout his life which made him an inspiration for all political activists..... He was a pioneer in his own ways..... His commitment was to the nation and not to any individual". Shri Vinod Kumar Singh remembered Shri Chandra Shekhar as a clean and a fearless leader who remained unwavering on his dissents and never compromised with his points of view. Besides, Shri Manoj Kumar Yadav and Smt. Annpaurna Devi also paid their respectful tributes to late Shri Chandra Shekhar.

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* Translated from the original in Hindi.

KARNATAKA LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY*

On 9 July 2007, expressing a deep sense of loss on the passing away of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India, Shri Krishna, the Speaker, Karnataka Legislative Assembly, *inter alia* said that with Shri Chandra Shekhar's demise, a vacuum had been created in the nation's political sphere.

Shri H.D. Kumaraswamy, the Chief Minister of Karnataka in his obituary reference remembered Shri Chandra Shekhar as a popular leader who enjoyed vast support of the masses. Adding further, he said that Shri Chandra Shekhar's ideologies and pro-people movements served as an inspiration for the youth of the country.

Shri N. Dharam Singh, the Leader of Opposition, Karnataka Legislative Assembly in his tributes remembered Shri Chandra Shekhar as a secular and nationalist leader and a very humane person. Hailing Shri Chandra Shekhar as a great personality, he said, "....we should emulate him and adopt the values of the principles upheld by him in our life as well".

Shri D.T. Jayakumar, Minister for Housing in his obituary reference, hailed Shri Chandra Shekhar as *'Aajata Shatru'* and said that he had no enemy in any political party. Further, he added that as a great leader, Shri Chandra Shekhar was much sought after for his guidance and advice.

Other members who paid their respectful tributes in memory of the departed leader included, Sarvashri M.P. Prakash, Minister of Home Affairs, Law and Parliamentary Affairs, Mallikarjuna Kharge, Vatal Nagaraj, K.S. Eshwarappa (Minister for Water Resources), G.V. Sree Rama Reddy, K. Jayaprakash Hegde, B.A. Jivijaya, R.V. Deshpande, Vishweshwara Hegde Kageri, N. Chaluvarayasamy (Minister for Transport), Vaijnath Patil, Araga Jnanendra and Narasimha Nayak *alias* Raju Gouda. Shri K.R. Ramesh Kumar in his obituary reference eulogized Shri Chandra Shekhar for his great services to the nation. He said, "...Chandra Shekharji played a vital role in evolving crucial decisions. He made all sincere efforts to impart a progressive and modern touch to both the State-level and national politics". "A great nationalist", he said, "Shri Chandra Shekhar commanded the respect of both the House of Parliament". Adding further he said "His loyalty to the country was unquestionable".

* Translated from the original in Kannada.

KARNATAKA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

On 9 July 2007, Prof. B.K. Chandershekar, Chairman, Karnataka Legislative Council made an obituary reference on the demise of the former Prime Minister of India, Shri Chandra Shekhar. Recalling the life and times of the former Prime Minister, he *inter alia* said, "...known by a befitting nomenclature as 'Young Turk'....Shri Chandra Shekhar was well known for his revolutionary attitude and always followed his own principles in politics". He further said, "In his death our country has lost a plain speaking veteran politician".

KERALA LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

On 9 July 2007, Shri K. Radhakrishnan, Speaker, Kerala Legislative Assembly offered his tributes on the passing away of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India. In his obituary reference he *inter-alia* said, "Chandra Shekhar was a secular socialist leader who had immensely contributed to the enrichment of Indian democracy during the four decades of his political experience..... As a member of Parliament, he was very vigilant in decentralization of power, bringing out the grievances of weaker sections and implementing policies regarding social changes". Remembering him as a brave leader who expressed his views fearlessly despite strong opposition, Shri Radhakrishnan said that by Shri Chandra Shekhar's departure the country had lost an ideal social and political leader.

Shri V.S. Achuthanandan, Chief Minister of Kerala, Shri Oommen Chandy (Leader of Opposition), Shri C. Divakaran (Minister for Food, Civil Supplies and Animal Husbandry), Shri T.U. Kuruvila (Minister for Works) and Shri N.K. Premachandran (Minister for Water Resources) also offered their homage in memory of Late Shri Chandra Shekhar. Other members who also paid their respectful tributes included, Shri Thomas Chazhikadan, Shri K.P. Mohanan, Shri C.T. Ahammed Ali, Shri K.K. Shaju, Shri Ramachandran Kadannapalli, Shri A.K. Saseendran and Shri P.C. George.

MADHYA PRADESH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY*

On 18 July 2007, Shri Ishwar Das Rohani, Speaker, Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly, while paying his tribute on the demise of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India, said that an assiduous social worker, Shri Chandra Shekhar would always be remembered with honour for the distinguished services he rendered to the nation.

Shri Shivraj Singh Chouhan, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh in his obituary reference said that an original thinker, Shri Chandra Shekhar was the one amongst the few knowledgeable Parliamentarians of the country. He further said, "... whether it was Ruling party or the Opposition, he was always listened to with rapt attention by all .... he used to speak directly without any prejudice and spoke only what he felt.... In his death, we have lost a leader who favoured the politics of ethics.....".

The Leader of Opposition in the Chamber, Smt. Jamuna Devi remembered Shri Chandra Shekhar as an ideal leader and a great thinker. In her obituary reference, hailing late Shri Chandra Shekhar as the son of soil, she said that his relation with politics was mainly associated with common man's interest.

Among other members who paid their respectful tributes in the memory of the departed leader included, Shri Banshmani Prasad Verma, Shri Manmohan Shah Batti, Smt. Saroj Bachchan Naik, Shri Hamid Kazi, Shri Lakhan Singh Baghel, Shri Ram Lakhan Sharma and Shri K.D. Deshmukh.

* Translated from the original in Hindi.

MAHARASHTRA LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY*

On 16 July 2007, Shri Krishnarao Rakhamajirao Desai *alias* Babasaheb Kupekar, Speaker, Maharashtra Legislative Assembly in his obituary reference *inter alia* said that Shri Chandra Shekhar was truly a diamond in the democratic traditions of the Indian Parliament. He added that by virtue of his ascetic and humble nature, Shri Chandra Shekhar used to spread a sweet fragrance in the political circles around him.

Shri Vilasrao Deshmukh, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra moved a Condolence Motion in the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly on the demise of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India. While recalling the life and achievements of Shri Chandra Shekhar, Shri Deshmukh remembered him as a straight forward politician, secular in outlook. He said that a great socialist, Shri Chandra Shekhar struggled to solve the problems of the common man throughout his life. Adding further, he said that Shri Chandra Shekhar held his principles dearer to him than politics.

Other members who also paid their respectful tributes in the memory of Shri Chandra Shekhar included, Shri Ramdas Kadam (Leader of Opposition), Shri Ekanatharao Ganpatrao Khadse, Shri Ganpatrao Deshmukh, Shri Narasayya Adam, Shri Narsingh Patil, Adv. Wamanrao Chatap and Shri Babanrao Pachpute (Minister of Forests).

* Translated from the original in Marathi.

MAHARASHTRA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL*

On 16 July 2007, Shri Shivajirao Bapusaheb Deshmukh, Chairman, Maharashtra Legislative Council termed Shri Chandra Shekhar's death as an irrecoverable loss for the nation.

Shri R.R. Patil, the Deputy Chief Minister of Maharashtra moved a Condolence Motion on the demise of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India in the Maharashtra Legislative Council. Speaking on the Motion, Shri Patil recalled that rising to eminence as a *'Young Turk'* during the 1970's, Shri Chandra Shekhar used to speak aggressively without any reservation in the national interest. Adding further, he said that taking pride in the ancient Indian traditions and the glorious history of India, Shri Chandra Shekhar strived throughout his life looking after the well being, integrity and welfare of the country. He said that through his speeches in both the Houses of Parliament marked with fervour of broad national interest, Shri Chandra Shekhar raised many issues facing the nation, truly upholding the democratic values of the institution.

Many members in the House offered their respectful tributes in the memory of the departed leader. Prof. B.T. Deshmukh while paying his homage remembered Shri Chandra Shekhar as a committed socialist and said that his place in the minds of people is unswerving. Shri Kapil Patil in his obituary reference remembered Shri Chandra Shekhar as a towering personality whose brave and noble character was astonishing. He *inter alia* said that throughout his life, Shri Chandra Shekhar insisted on value based politics. Other members who offered their tributes included, Shri Pandurang Phundkar (Leader of Opposition), Shri Madhukar Sarpotdar, Adv. Gurunath Kulkarni, Shri Jayant P. Patil, Major Sudhir Sawant, Prof. Sharad Patil and Dr. Neelam Gorhe.

* Translated from the original in Marathi.

Shri M.M. Danggo making an obituary reference in the State Assembly on 12 October 2007, the passing away of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India, Dr. D.D. Lapang, Chief Minister of Meghalaya, hailed him as a socialist veteran and expressed a deep sense of loss on his demise.

Recalling the landmark initiatives by Shri Chandra Shekhar during his tenure as Prime Minister of India, Shri Manas Choudhuri, remembered him as an outstanding figure in the Indian politics. He *inter alia* observed, "As political biography (of Shri Chandra Shekhar), we can say that he was one person who not only had the political sagacity but also had the courage of conviction". Among other members, Shri Sing Mulieh and Shri Process T. Sawkmie also offered their homage in the memory of Shri Chandra Shekhar.

With folk dancers from Kerala, New Delhi, 29 January 1991

With folk dancers from Rajasthan, New Delhi, 29 January 1991

With the folk dancers from the North East, New Delhi, 29 January 1991

MIZORAM LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

On 18 September 2007, *Pu Zoramthanga, Chief Minister of Mizoram, in an obituary reference made in the Legislative Assembly on the passing away of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India, hailed him as a great social worker and a brave politician. He termed Shri Chandra Shekhar's death as a serious loss for the nation.

Other members who offered their respectful tributes included, *Pu Lal Thanhawla and *Pu Lalhmingthanga. *Pu Lalduhoma in his obituary reference remembered Shri Chandra Shekhar as a great Gandhian having the spirit of simple living and high thinking.

* 'Pu' is addressing a person with respect in Mizo dialect, just like Tamilians use 'Thiru'.

NAGALAND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

On 18 September 2007, Shri Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland expressed his deep condolences in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly on the passing away of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India. In his obituary reference, he hailed Shri Chandra Shekhar as a champion of political and social reforms who worked tirelessly for improving the lot of the common man. Reflecting on his life and achievements, he *inter alia* said, "Chandra Shekhar represented important values like honesty, sincerity, courage of conviction and steadfastness in adhering to what he considered as correct. Thus, he belonged to a rare kind of politicians who would never sacrifice their ideals for power, pelf or privilege". In Chandra Shekhar's death, he said, the country had lost a sagacious statesman and that the void created by his death would be difficult to fill.

Shri I. Imkong, Leader of Opposition while paying tribute said, "Chandra Shekhar was a shining example of pragmatism, perseverance and high ideals of parliamentarism. A leader of strong conviction and a profound thinker, he relentlessly fought for the establishment of a socialistic order and building a casteless and a classless society. His masterly performance as a parliamentarian remained one of the distinguishing features of his eventful life".

ORISSA LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY[#]

Speaker, Orissa Legislative Assembly, Shri Maheswar Mohanty, while offering his tributes said that for his idealism and his *padyatra*, Shri Chandra Shekhar would be forever remembered by posterity.

Expressing his deep anguish on the passing away of the former Prime Minister of India, Shri Chandra Shekhar, the Chief Minister of Orissa, Shri Naveen Patnaik[$], in his obituary reference in the Orissa Legislative Assembly on 9 July 2007 *inter alia* said, ".....the sad demise of the former Prime Minister is an irreparable loss for our country.....the wide gap left behind after his death can never be filled". Remembering him as a great socialist leader, he said, Shri Chandra Shekhar worked throughout for the upliftment of the poor and the downtrodden.

Shri J.B. Patnaik, Leader of Opposition in the House, expressed his heartfelt condolences on the demise of Shri Chandra Shekhar. In his obituary reference, he *inter alia* said that in Shri Chandra Shekhar's demise, the nation had lost a true patriot. Hailing him as a stellar personality in the Indian political arena, he said that a fearless person, Shri Chandra Shekhar never hesitated to speak his mind and always practised what he preached. He further added that a principled man, Shri Chandra Shekhar never compromised in what he believed in.

Shri Biswa Bhushan Harichandan, Minister for Rural Development, in his obituary reference remembered Shri Chandra Shekhar as a great leader and a fine statesman who was genuinely concerned for the poor, the oppressed and the neglected lot of our society.

Other members in the House who also paid their respectful tributes in the memory of Shri Chandra Shekhar included, Shri Bimal Lochan Das, Shri N. Narayan Reddy, Shri Laxman Munda, Shri Shambhunath Nayak and Shri Ranendra Pratap Swain.

[#] Translated from the original in Oriya.

[$] Spoke in English.

PUDUCHERRY LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY*

On 24 October 2007, the Puducherry Legislative Assembly made a reference on the demise of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India, which read as under:—

"Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minster of India was born on 1 July 1927 in an agriculturist family at Ibrahimpatti in the Ballia District of Uttar Pradesh. He studied M.A. (Political Science). He involved himself in political activities even while he was a student. He joined the Praja Socialist party and occupied various positions in that party. He was elected to the Council of States in the year 1962 from Uttar Pradesh. A stickler to his principles who had great courage in the execution of his ideas, he was called *'Young Turk'*. He joined the Congress in the year 1965. He became the General Secretary of Congress Parliamentary Party in the year 1967. He had immense faith in Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. He was arrested during the Emergency period. Thereafter, he joined the Janata Party. From 1977 to 2004, he became a Member of Parliament, eight times. He founded the Samajwadi Janata Party. He became the Prime Minister of India in 1990. He died on 8 July 2007 at the age of 80. His demise is a loss to the nation."

* Translated from the original in Tamil.

PUNJAB VIDHAN SABHA*

Sardar Nirmal Singh Kahlon, Speaker, Punjab Legislative Assembly, in his tributes on 17 December 2007, *inter alia* said that an embodiment of the philosophy of simple living and high thinking, Shri Chandra Shekhar was a man of high values and was a leader par excellence.

Sardar Prakash Singh Badal, Chief Minister of Punjab while paying his obeisance to the passing away of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India, said in the Vidhan Sabha "His death has come as a colossal loss to the country. India has lost a bold, straightforward and an honest person.....We deeply mourn the passing away of such a stalwart". Remembering Shri Chandra Shekhar as an asset to the nation, Shri Badal said, "He was not only a true friend of the poor and the downtrodden but was also a beacon of truth and lofty values.....He always fought against the erosion of democratic values in the country". Shri Badal further added, "His spotless character and simple life will always be a source of inspiration for all the Indians".

Shri Manoranjan Kalia, Local Bodies, Industries and Commerce Minister in his tributes remembered Shri Chandra Shekhar as a great stalwart who was wedded to democratic principles.

Smt. Rajinder Kaur Bhatthal, Leader of Opposition, remembered Shri Chandra Shekhar as a person whose name was synonymous with noble values and high traditions. In her obituary reference, she *inter alia* said, "....a man of firm convictions.....He worked untiringly and tried his best always to address the problems of all segments of the society and the political issues facing the nation by raising the matters concerning these at the highest level". She further added that he was very bold and forthright in his approach.

Sardar Charanjeet Singh Channi, member of the Assembly also offered his homage in the memory of the departed leader.

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* Translated from the original in Punjabi.

RAJASTHAN VIDHAN SABHA*

On 18 September 2007, Smt. Sumitra Singh, Speaker, Rajasthan Legislative Assembly moved a Motion of Condolence on the passing away of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India. Paying her homage to the departed leader, she said that with Shri Chandra Shekhar's demise, the nation had lost an eminent personality committed for establishing a secular and a casteless society. Describing Shri Chandra Shekhar as a distinguished Parliamentarian, an able administrator and a committed socialist leader, she said, "Shri Chandra Shekhar was one of the revered politicians of the country." Highlighting his outstanding contributions to the development of the parliamentary democracy, she said, "A staunch supporter of secular and democratic values, Shri Chandra Shekhar always upheld these as the supporting pillars of the Indian nation." She also added, "An excellent and eloquent orator, Shri Chandra Shekhar always echoed the voice of building a new nation in his speeches. He upheld the sanctity of the House while he expressed his views fearlessly amidst diverse political ideologies. Whenever there was a provocation in the House, his prompt interventions always helped in restoring order in the House and for ensuring a smooth conduct of its proceedings".

* Translated from the original in Hindi.

Making an obituary reference on the demise of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India, Shri D.N. Takarpa, Speaker, Sikkim Legislative Assembly, on 6 September 2007, *inter alia* said, "In his passing away, the country has lost a distinguished son of India and a great patriot who was passionately committed to sustained development and social equity".

Dr. Pawan Chamling, Chief Minister of Sikkim, expressed his profound sorrow on the passing away of Shri Chandra Shekhar and termed his life as a saga of courage. In his obituary reference, Dr. Chamling eulogized Shri Chandra Shekhar for his outstanding contributions in the making of a strong and vigilant India. He *inter alia* observed that one of the most reputed leaders of the country, Shri Chandra Shekhar was a socialist to the core, a secular nationalist and an icon of the youth. Adding further, he said that a man of strong conviction, Shri Chandra Shekhar took a principled and an uncompromising stand on basic politics and was of firm belief that the common man must be central to the policies and programmes of the Government. Citing the few pro-people initiatives by Shri Chandra Shekhar during his tenure as Prime Minister of India, he said that these showed his enlightened statesmanship and his political sagacity. Highlighting his proactive role during the four decades of his Parliamentary career, Dr. Chamling said, "His (Shri Chandra Shekhar's) presence and interventions in Parliament during periods of turmoil had quite often helped restore calm in the House".

TAMIL NADU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY*

On 17 October 2007, the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly passed a Condolence Resolution with Thiru R. Avudaiappan, Hon. the Speaker in the Chair on the demise of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India which read as under:—

> "This House expresses its shock and deep sorrow on the demise of former Prime Minister Thiru Chandra Shekhar, a great nationalist and leader of Samajwadi Janata Party, who expired at the age of 80 on 8 July 2007. He served as member of Lok Sabha for eight terms and three terms as member of Rajya Sabha. He had served as Prime Minister for seven months and eleven days.
>
> This House expresses its deep sorrow and condolences to the members of the bereaved family on his demise."

* Translated from the original in Tamil.

TRIPURA LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY*

Expressing his deep condolences on behalf of the Tripura Legislative Assembly on the passing away of the former Prime Minister of India, Shri Chandra Shekhar, Shri Dinesh Nandan Sahaya, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, said on 7 September 2007, "Death of Chandra Shekharji has created a vacuum in the Indian political field and the Indians have lost a democratic, popular and a forthright leader". Describing him as a secular leader with a very liberal outlook, Shri Sahaya *inter alia* said, "He always spoke keeping himself above communal feelings. Leaders of different political parties used to call him 'Conscience of Parliament'."

* Translated from the original in Bengali.

UTTARAKHAND VIDHAN SABHA*

Shri Harbans Kapoor, Speaker, Uttarakhand Legislative Assembly, expressed his deep condolences on the passing away of Shri Chandra Shekhar and described his demise as a national loss. He said that a unique person, Shri Chandra Shekhar enjoyed a distinct identity in the larger political fraternity. A detached traveller in his long political sojourn, he said, Shri Chandra Shekhar never hankered after position and power. He also added that, that well versed in parliamentary procedures, Shri Chandra Shekhar assimilated them in his day-to-day parliamentary life.

On 9 July 2007, Maj. Gen. (Retd.) Bhuwan Chandra Khanduri, AVSM, Chief Minister of Uttarakhand made an obituary reference on the passing away of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India. Recalling his life and times, he *inter alia* observed, "Shri Chandra Shekhar's life reflects a struggling youth, full of energy and enthusiasm who had the courage to fight against the system and who wanted to serve his country and its people with true devotion".

Shri Harak Singh Rawat, the Leader of Opposition while paying his homage in the House said, "....the people from village felt that he (Shri Chandra Shekhar) was a common citizen, common farmer..... the straightforwardness in his speeches made the common man identify with his personality".

The Minister for Food and Civil Supplies, Shri Divakar Bhatt while paying his tributes *inter alia* said that with a deep insight in the matters, Shri Chandra Shekhar could comprehend issues even before pleading. Adding further he said, ".....he had a gigantic presence in his field".

Shri Shahzad, Member also offered his respectful tributes in the memory of the departed leader.

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* Translated from the original in Hindi.

UTTAR PRADESH VIDHAN SABHA*

On 9 July 2007, Shri Sukhadeo Rajbhar, the Speaker of the Uttar Pradesh Vidhan Sabha, expressed his deep condolences on the passing away of the former Prime Minister of India, Shri Chandra Shekhar. Remembering him as a socialist leader — known popularly as *'Yuva Turk',* he said, Shri Chandra Shekhar had keen interest in interacting with people and resolving their problems. In Chandra Shekhar's demise, he said, "....the nation has lost a veteran and principled politician and a committed socialist, forthright in his manners and endowed with an indomitable spirit".

* Translated from the original in Hindi.

WEST BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Referring to the passing away of Shri Chandra Shekhar, former Prime Minister of India, on 17 July 2007, Shri Hashim Abdul Halim, Speaker, West Bengal Legislative Assembly said that with his demise, the country had lost a wise statesman and an able administrator. In his obituary reference, Shri Halim recalled the life and achievements of Shri Chandra Shekhar. Describing him as an outstanding parliamentarian, he said, "Shri Chandra Shekhar commanded respect from all sides for his views and convictions".

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